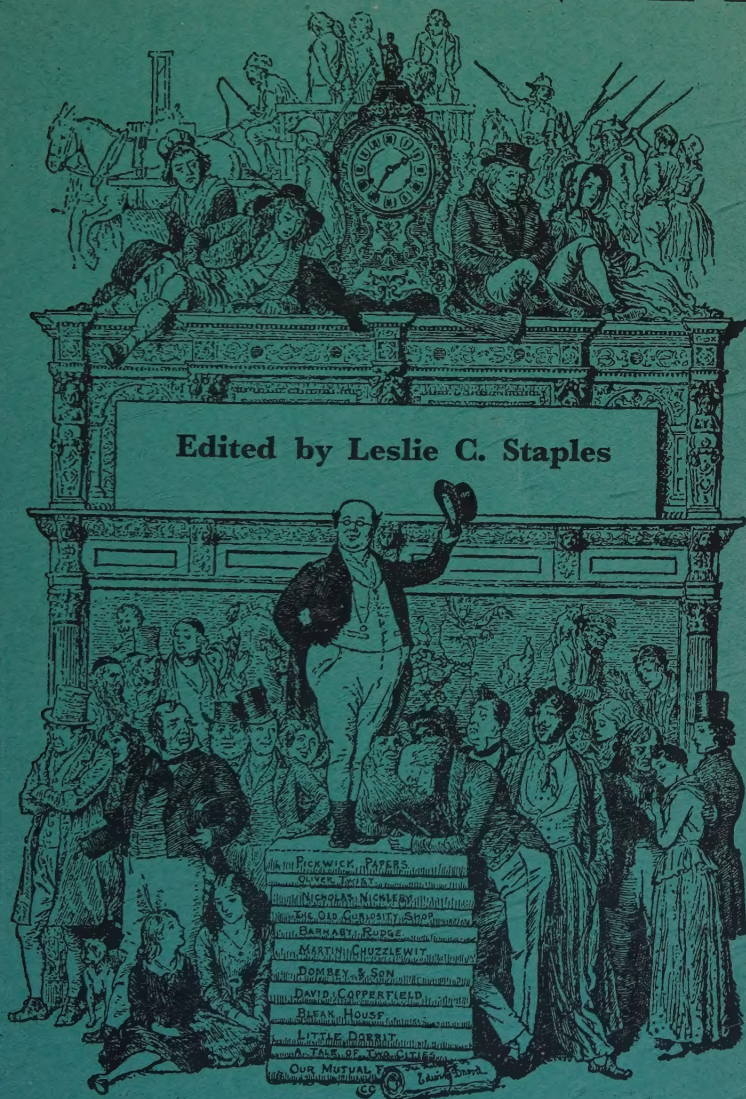


THE DICKENSIAN



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SO, in the last century, the country banker inspired and held confidence: the evidence of his worth was plainly to be seen. The rising tide of industrial development with its demand for a service which few private firms could provide caused the virtual disappearance of the country bankers, but on the firm foundation which he had created, the Westminster Bank continued to build, so that it is today able to offer a service which, in its scope and complexity, might be a source of some astonishment to those pioneer bankers of other days.

WESTMINSTER BANK LIMITED



A party of Dickens Characters leave
the Dickens House
to dine at the Festival of Britain

By courtesy of the "Daily Graphic."

THE DICKENSIAN

WINTER NUMBER

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OURSELVES

THE present number of *The Dickensian*, beginning a new volume, appears in what is hoped is an improved form, and is due to our desire to meet the necessities forced upon us by the increase in the cost of production. Progressive increases in the cost of paper, labour at the printing works, and distribution, have become a source of serious anxiety, and every department has been ruthlessly overhauled.

Various expedients have been tried from time to time in order to continue the issue of *The Dickensian* without increasing the subscription price, but in spite of every endeavour it was found necessary to raise it in 1943 from 1s. to 1s. 6d., and again in 1946 to 2s. 6d., its present figure, which we feel strongly should be the maximum.

It should be borne in mind that all contributions to *The Dickensian* are voluntary, and we cannot sufficiently thank the various writers for so generously placing at our disposal the many valuable and interesting articles in our pages without asking for any remuneration; the office of Editor is honorary; the correction of proofs is done without cost; and our only expenses are those connected with the office and the printing.

Now we have to meet a further increased cost of production amounting to 50 per cent. of the current expenses. To meet this without raising the subscription, we have decided, after consultation with our printers, Messrs. A. Brown & Sons, Ltd., of Hull, to whom we are much indebted for cordial co-operation and personal interest for many years, to adopt the changes to be found in this number, the chief of which is the larger type. This, in the course of a few months, will be used throughout our pages, making the magazine more easily readable without sacrificing anything of essential importance.

Our guiding principle still remains our ideal. "If you want to know anything about Dickens: his writings, his influence, the man himself, his critics and his commentators, turn to the pages of our long series of volumes," the forty-eighth of which is now beginning. Our columns are the depository of the result of the industry of scholars all over the world.

WHEN FOUND—

Festival Dickens Dinner

Of the many manifestations of the Festival Spirit in London last summer, none appealed more to the popular imagination than the Dickens Dinner which was held in the Regatta Restaurant on the South Bank on July 24th. It was a further link between the Great Exhibition of 1851 and the Festival of this present year of grace, for a characteristic banquet of a hundred years ago was served to the astonished guests. The bill of fare, printed on lace-edged linen in the Victorian fashion, was composed of an array of dishes such as surely cannot have previously appeared on one table for many years. The side tables looked like Leech's setting for the Spirit



[*"Associated Press"*]

of Christmas Present, but it should be emphasised that the rationed foods were flown from the continent and from America. A feature of the dinner was the presence of a dozen or more of the principal characters from Dickens's novels, most of whom drove to the South Bank from the Dickens House on a stage coach. Pickwick, attended by Sam Weller and the Fat Boy, was on the box. Other outside passengers included Micawber, Sikes, Bumble, Barnaby, and Trotty Veck, while Mantalini was inside attending to the ladies. At the dinner they occupied a large table in the centre of the room and in their midst sat Charles Dickens, in the person of Mr. Bransby Williams. Many distinguished guests, both American and British, graced the tables. Mr. Arnold Hagenbach, the host, occupied the chair, and Mr. James Laver was the Master of Ceremonies. The toast of the Immortal Memory of Charles

Dickens was proposed by Mr. J. B. Priestley and among the other speakers were Mrs. May Lamberton Becker, the well-known American authoress and Past President of the New York Branch of the Fellowship, from whose original ideas the whole function had grown, Mr. Bransby Williams, who spoke for Charles Dickens, and Alfred Mantalini (whose whiskers disguised the Editor of *The Dickensian*) thanked Mr. Hagenbach on behalf of the Dickens Fellowship for his generosity in affording it the opportunity of participating in this highly successful and unique Anglo-American occasion.

* * * * *

The Drood Mystery Mr. Felix Aylmer's highly original theories about the unsolved mystery of Dickens's last plot, have attracted very great attention and we have had a number of appreciations and criticisms of it offered to us. To print even a selection of them would clearly lead to the receipt of a host of others and the filling of several numbers with them. It therefore appeared expedient to decline them all and to await another solution as interesting, absorbing and engaging as that of Mr. Aylmer, before reopening our pages to the controversy. The Editor is none the less grateful to his would-be contributors and begs their understanding forgiveness.

* * * * *

Emlyn Williams's Dickens Readings Mr. Emlyn Williams, whose masterly impersonation of Dickens at the Reading Desk was so enthusiastically hailed at Drury Lane in February, repeated the performance, but extended it to a whole evening, at the Arts Theatre, Cambridge, on July 22nd. It met with such success that he later gave similar performances there for a week in October, followed by a week at Brighton and a short season at the Lyric Theatre, Hammersmith. The "Readings" are of course, inspired by those of the novelist himself, but the arrangements of his work which Dickens himself made for his use on the platform, Mr. Williams studiously avoids. As he has explained to us, Dickens, well aware of his powers as an actor, seized the opportunity afforded by these Readings, of exercising them, but Mr. Williams, as a practising actor-dramatist, lacks no opportunity of presenting character and his own aim is to demonstrate the genius, the beauty, and the dramatic power of Dickens's prose. His resounding success at Cambridge has again given us unbounded delight, and Dickensians would indeed be unwise to neglect any opportunity of sharing it. At the moment of writing his London season has yet to open, and a report of it must be delayed until our next number.

* * * * *

Past History Recalled To mark its 150th birthday the *Sunday Dispatch* on September 23rd presented its readers with a facsimile of its very first issue (the *Weekly Dispatch*) dated September 23rd, 1801. To this reproduction were appended extracts from the file of the newspaper. Among these is the letter written by Dickens on November 13th, 1849, that started the agitation for the abolition of public executions. There

6
were also some examples of the kind of journalism that was caricatured by Dickens as "The Eatanswill Gazette" in the *Pickwick Papers*. The *Weekly Dispatch* of April 16th, 1837, thus alludes to *The Times*: "That foul-mouthed weathercock of the Press . . . used all the Billingsgate which could be vomited forth by a beggar in his cups . . . this sink of literary gall and political prostitution . . . *The Times* journal, which may be called the swindler's paper." Compared with this "The Eatanswill Gazette's" reference to its rival as a "crawling creature sweltering forth his black venom," seems quite mild.

* * * * *

Dickens House on the air During the Festival of Britain the B.B.C. invited some of the overseas visitors to participate in a short programme entitled "Farewell, Friend," promising to take each one to the object in London that he or she had missed during the stay in England and would like to visit before returning home. One of these visitors, Miss T. Stanley-Hughes, Director of the League of Women's Health at Sydney, N.S.W., asked to be taken to the Dickens House. Mr. Eamonn Andrews, the interviewer, and Miss Phyllis Robinson, the producer, took her there on September 16th, where she was received by Miss Minards and shown some of the treasures and taken through all the rooms. A short broadcast was made from the Dingley Dell Kitchen, in which Miss Stanley-Hughes's questions and Miss Minards's answers and explanations provided listeners with an admirable impression of the House.

* * * * *

Scrooge on the screen What we believe to be the sixth film adaptation of *A Christmas Carol*, will shortly appear in the cinemas. The conception of a character like Scrooge in a reader's mind may be quite different from an actor's individual presentation of the old miser's personality. As played by Alastair Sim in this new version, there is a puckish quality that has not been shown by actors who have previously undertaken the onerous part. Among others in the large company may be mentioned Michael Hordern who, in the studio, impressed us immensely by the power of his ghost of Marley. The new film will probably prove to be excellent "box-office" and we wish it every success.

* * * * *

Broadstairs Dickens Festival The Annual Dickens Festival at Broadstairs enjoyed another success at the end of October, and appeared to be quite unaffected by General Election excitements which raged around it. Here was further evidence, if it be needed, that the Festival is now a welcome and established feature of the Dickensian year. Again one of Gladys Waterer's clever dramatic adaptations was the centre of attraction, but this year, owing to pressure of work, Miss Waterer had been unable to complete a new play and so an old friend was revived: *Nicholas Nickleby*, first seen in 1947. James Leach, the producer, secured an admirable performance of the well-knit play, and himself played Ralph at short notice. A characteristically strong company put in some first-rate acting.

* * * * *

A grand-daughter

It is with regret that we announce the death in London, on October 15th, of Miss Katherine Mary Dickens, the eldest daughter of Alfred Tennyson Dickens, the fourth son of the novelist. Our deepest sympathy is extended to her sister, Miss Violet Dickens, with whom she had lived in London since the death of their father in New York in 1912.

* * * * *

Eliza Davis

Among the many interesting subsidiary exhibitions to be held in London during the Festival of Britain was an Anglo-Jewish one at University College, and among its many interesting exhibits was the well-known correspondence between Dickens and a Jewish lady, Eliza Davis, who complained to him that he had treated her race unfairly by the creation of Fagin. With the letters appeared the Jewish Bible which Mrs. Davis sent to Dickens on the appearance of his other prominent Jewish character, Riah. These items were lent to the exhibition by Sir Louis Sterling.

* * * * *

W. P. Frith It was appropriate that the English artist most associated with the England of the Great Exhibition, William Powell Frith, R.A., should be celebrated by an exhibition of his work in the year of the Festival of Britain. It was held at Harrogate, near which town the artist was born, and transferred to the Whitechapel Art Gallery, London, during October and November. Frith was a personal friend of Dickens, who greatly admired his work and who commissioned canvasses from him. One of the best known portraits of the novelist, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, another version of which is at the Dickens House, came from his brush, and one of his many pictures of *Dolly Varden* is also at South Kensington. Now that increasing attention and appreciation is being bestowed upon the Victorian era, Frith is again coming into his own, for, as Mr. James Laver rightly points out, he gives us the "very form and pressure of the time," the time of Dickens particularly, in such masterpieces as *Derby Day*, *The Railway Station*, and *Ramsgate Sands*. The last mentioned, purchased by Queen Victoria, was lent to the exhibition by H.M. the King. Among other pictures in the exhibition are two of the heroine of *Barnaby Rudge*, one entitled *Dolly Varden Looking Back at Her Lover*, which was that painted for Dickens in 1843 and now in the possession of the Baroness Burton. The other, *The Laughing Dolly*, was lent by Mr. P. R. Bedford.

* * * * *

More Radio Dickens A Dickens novel is again to furnish the material for Sunday evening radio serialisation. A new version of *Oliver Twist* by Giles Cooper (who has been advised by the Dickens Fellowship) and produced by Charles Lefeaux, is to be broadcast by the B.B.C. beginning on January 6th.

LESLIE C. STAPLES.

THE BARBER OF DEAN STREET

By WILLIAM J. CARLTON

AN episode of Dickens's boyhood, recorded briefly in the first chapter of Forster's biography of the novelist, has received scant attention from later commentators. Charles was barely eleven years old when, in the winter of 1822-1823, he travelled by coach from Chatham to London to join the rest of the family at 16 (later 141) Bayham Street, Camden Town. His father had been recalled to take up a post as third-class clerk in the new Inspectors' Branch of the Navy Pay Office at Somerset House, where one of Mrs. Dickens's brothers, Thomas Culliford Barrow, was a junior clerk in the Prize Branch of the same office. To this uncle's lodging the boy paid several visits from Bayham Street. Forster tells us that Barrow "had broken his leg in a fall; and, while laid up with this illness, his lodging was in Gerrard Street, Soho, in the upper part of the house of a worthy gentleman then recently deceased, a bookseller named Manson, father to the partner in the celebrated firm of Christie and Manson, whose widow at the time carried on the business. Attracted by the look of the lad as he went upstairs, these good people lent him books to amuse him; among them Miss Porter's *Scottish Chiefs*, Holbein's *Dance of Death*, and George Colman's *Broad Grins*."

It was to this period that Dickens alluded when he wrote to the same uncle from Furnival's Inn on March 31st, 1836, two days before his marriage: "I cannot forget that I was once your little companion and nurse, through a weary illness, nor shall I ever cease to remember the many proofs you have given me, in later days, of your interest and affection."

Thomas Culliford Barrow had joined the Navy Pay Office on April 5th, 1805 (on the same day as John Dickens), before he was twelve years old. Ten years later his name disappears from the list of officials and does not reappear until 1823. He had had the misfortune to slip and break his thigh. It was set, but another fall broke it in the same place—a compound fracture. Not only was Barrow incapacitated for several years, but the injury was so grave that the leg had eventually to be amputated above the knee. This operation, performed by Dr. Joseph Carpue, a well-known surgeon practising in near-by Dean Street, in the presence of another famous surgeon, Benjamin (afterwards Sir Benjamin) Brodie,* was borne with courage and fortitude. Anaesthetics were then unknown and the patient fainted. On regaining consciousness, according to a tradition still preserved in the family, he asked "Where is my leg?" "Under the table" was the laconic answer.

Despite the loss of his leg, Dickens's uncle married in 1824, reared a large family, became head of the Prize Branch and completed fifty years' service with the Navy Pay Office. On February 9th, 1857, he retired on a pension of £710 a year—his full salary, awarded as a special mark of esteem—but did not live to enjoy it.

* According to Miss Mary Russell Mitford, who wrote to a friend on June 30th, 1837, urging her to read *Pickwick*, of which several monthly parts had then appeared, "Sir Benjamin Brodie takes it to read in his carriage between patient and patient." (*Life of Mary Russell Mitford*, ed. Rev. A. G. K. L'Estrange, 1870, ii, 198.)

Less than six weeks after his retirement, on March 18th, he died at Leicester and a week later was buried in Brompton Cemetery, London, where his name can still be seen on a granite monument.

The bookseller over whose premises Barrow lodged was John Manson. He had been in business successively at 5 Duke's Court, St. Martin's Lane, and at 2 Maiden Lane, Covent Garden, as a dealer in books, prints, coins and antiquities. In 1799 he was at 6 Pall Mall, whence he removed in 1803 to 10 Gerrard Street. From all these addresses he issued catalogues offering books in many languages "for ready money only" and advertising some of his own publications. In the year of Dickens's birth, Manson died, leaving a widow and two young sons, both of whom lived to become partners in the firm of auctioneers now known as "Christies." Elizabeth Manson, the widow, carried on the Gerrard Street bookshop for some years in her husband's name and later in her own, but from 1828 to 1841 her eldest son, William, was in occupation of No. 10. It is permissible to wonder whether Dickens had this house in mind when he described the dwelling of the burly solicitor, Mr. Jaggers, on the south side of Gerrard Street, as "rather a stately house of its kind, but dolefully in want of painting, and with dirty windows." Jaggers occupied a set of three dark brown rooms on the first floor up a dark brown staircase; there were carved garlands on the panelled walls, which reminded Pip of different kinds of loops with which his host was not unconnected.

But let us return to Forster. He goes on to say that Dickens's uncle "was shaved by a very odd old barber out of Dean Street, Soho, who was never tired of reviewing the events of the last war, and especially of detecting Napoleon's mistakes, and re-arranging his whole life for him on a plan of his own. The boy wrote a description of this old barber, but never had courage to show it." A note on this passage in J. W. T. Ley's annotated edition of Forster's *Life* suggests that the barber "may have been the original of Pol Sweedlepipes" (*sic*), but no evidence has hitherto been produced in support of Ley's conjecture. It is the purpose of this article to attempt to establish the identity of "the very odd old barber out of Dean Street" and to suggest that there is at least a *prima facie* case for considering him to be the prototype of the meek little barber of *Martin Chuzzlewit*.

The well-known antiquary, Edward F. Rimbault, who was born and lived for some years in Soho, is responsible for the statement that "old Turner, the father of the eminent painter, was a hair-dresser in Dean Street, and used to dress the hair of Tomkison, the pianoforte-maker."* According to the same authority, Thomas Tomkison, "the eminent pianoforte maker of Dean Street," was well known to all the artists of his day as a first-rate judge of the paintings of the old masters. A close friend of George Henry Harlow, who was his neighbour at 83 Dean Street for a time, Tomkison is said to have been Harlow's constant correspondent while the painter was in Italy studying the old masters.

Here, then, is a link with Dickens, for Tomkison was a friend of the family and it was on his recommendation that Charles's sister

* *Soho and its Associations, Historical, Literary and Artistic*, edited from the MSS. of Edward F. Rimbault, LL.D., F.S.A., by George Clinch (1895), p. 98.

Fanny was admitted, in April 1823, as one of the earliest pupils at the newly-founded Royal Academy of Music, Tenterden Street. Thomas Tomkison, was in business at 55 Dean Street from 1800 to 1819, when he moved to No. 77. On one of his trade cards in the collection of Sir Ambrose Heal he called himself "piano forte maker to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales" and displayed the Royal Arms. One grand piano and one square piano were supplied by Tomkison for the examination of the candidates which preceded the opening of the Academy on March 24th. He was still at 77 Dean Street as late as 1839 and died in Portland Road on November 10th, 1853, at the ripe age of 90 years.

And what of "old Turner," of Dean Street, who dressed the hair of the pianoforte maker? When Joseph Mallord William Turner, one of the greatest landscape painters of all time, was born in 1775, his father, William Turner, was a humble hairdresser in Maiden Lane, Covent Garden. He was then in his thirtieth year and was well known in the artistic and theatrical circles of "the Garden." Many artists frequented the shop. Another client was Humphrey Tomkison, a prosperous jeweller and goldsmith in Maiden Lane and the father of Thomas Tomkison. Many years later the pianoforte maker claimed that the elder Tomkison was the first to recognise the remarkable talent of young Turner, who was originally destined to follow the tonsorial trade of his father. The boy, then five years old, had accompanied his father to Tomkison's house and, while the barber was dressing the jeweller's hair, busied himself in copying a coat-of-arms.* The resulting sketch extorted the admiration of Tomkison, who was something of a connoisseur and in after years bought many of Turner's pictures. Humphrey Tomkison moved his establishment about 1778 from Maiden Lane to 30 Southampton Street.

After the imposition of a tax on hair powder in 1795, wigs began to go out of fashion, and soon after the opening of Turner's gallery at 64 Harley Street at the turn of the century the barber gave up his shop in Maiden Lane. Some twelve years later the painter took a cottage at Twickenham, whither his father appears to have accompanied him, as well as a town house at 46a Queen Anne Street, Marylebone. At this time the old man was his son's willing slave, stretching his canvases and varnishing them when completed. As Turner put it, his father began and finished his pictures for him. At Twickenham the barber kept house and at Queen Anne Street he attended to callers and prepared the meals, often walking the whole distance until the double journey proved too much for a sexagenarian. Turner disposed of the country cottage in 1826, giving as a reason that "Dad" was always working in the garden and catching cold. For the next three years the elder Turner lived at Queen Anne Street, fulfilling the rôles of footman, gallery attendant, messenger and general factotum. Many anecdotes are told of his parsimony and eccentric habits, but father and son were greatly attached to one another and the old man's death in 1829 was a blow from which the artist never fully recovered.

Walter Thornbury, the artist's biographer, has given us a word-portrait of the elder Turner, based on the recollection of the

* *Notes and Queries*, 2nd ser., vol. cxxviii, p. 475 (June 12th, 1858).

Rev. Henry Scott Trimmer, who knew him well at Twickenham. "He was about the height of his son, spare and muscular, a head below the average standard, small blue eyes, parrot nose, projecting chin, and a fresh complexion indicative of health, which he apparently enjoyed to the full. He was a chatty old fellow, and talked fast, and his words acquired a peculiar transatlantic twang from his nasal enunciation. His cheerfulness was greater than that of his son, and a smile was always on his countenance." The barber had a habit of nervously jumping up on his toes every two or three minutes, which was rather disconcerting to strangers. He was, in short, a man whose odd appearance and characteristics were such as would be likely to impress themselves vividly on the mind of a sensitive and observant boy of eleven.

Neither the rate books nor the directories of the period provide confirmation of Rimbault's definite assertion that old Turner was a hairdresser in Dean Street, but it must be borne in mind that only householders were included in them. Thornbury records that the barber used still to go up to Maiden Lane at intervals, after his removal to Twickenham, to dress the wigs of some of his old customers in that neighbourhood, and he may well have performed a like service for others in Soho. From 1802 onwards the painter made several extended tours on the Continent, including a trip to the Rhine about 1823, and it is perhaps not too wild a conjecture that Turner *père* profited by these absences to exercise his old occupation, lodging temporarily with friends, among them perhaps Thomas Tomkison of Dean Street. It may also be surmised, though proof is wanting, that Tomkison's backing of Fanny Dickens's application to the Royal Academy of Music was prompted by her uncle, Thomas Barrow. An accomplished musician, he played the piano and violoncello, had a beautiful bass voice, and may well have been an occasional visitor to the pianoforte maker's establishment.

However that may be, the facts set down above constitute strong presumptive evidence that the "very odd old barber out of Dean Street" who shaved Dickens's uncle was none other than William Turner, father of the painter whose centenary is being celebrated this year. Whether he served as a model for Poll Sweedlepipe is more difficult to determine. Here is Dickens's description (written, be it remembered, some twenty years after the visits to his uncle) of Mrs. Gamp's landlord in Chapter XXVI of *Martin Chuzzlewit*:

"The artist who had the honour of entertaining Mrs. Gamp as his first-floor lodger, united the two pursuits of barbering and bird-fancying; and it was not an original idea of his, but one in which he had, dispersed about the by-streets and suburbs of the town, a host of rivals.

"The name of the householder was Paul Sweedlepipe. But he was commonly called Poll Sweedlepipe: and was not uncommonly believed to have been so christened, among his friends and neighbours . . . Poll Sweedlepipe shaved all comers at a penny each, and cut the hair of any customer for twopence; and being a lone unmarried man, and having some connection in the bird line, Poll got on tolerably well.

“ He was a little elderly man, with a clammy cold right hand, from which even rabbits and birds could not remove the smell of shaving-soap. Poll had something of the bird in his nature; not of the hawk or eagle, but of the sparrow, that builds in chimney-stacks and inclines to human company. He was not quarrelsome, though, like the sparrow; but peaceful, like the dove. In his walk he strutted; and, in this respect, he bore a faint resemblance to the pigeon, as well as in a certain prosiness of speech, which might, in its monotony, be likened to the cooing of that bird. He was very inquisitive; and when he stood at his shop-door in the evening-tide, watching the neighbours, with his head on one side, and his eye cocked knowingly, there was a dash of the raven in him. Yet there was no more wickedness in Poll than in a robin. Happily, too, when any of his ornithological properties were on the verge of going too far, they were quenched, dissolved, melted down, and neutralised in the barber; just as his bald head—otherwise, as the head of a shaved magpie—lost itself in a wig of curly black ringlets, parted on one side, and cut away almost to the crown, to indicate immense capacity of intellect . . .

“ Poll had a very small, shrill, treble voice, which might have led the wags of Kingsgate Street to insist the more upon his feminine designation.

“ Poll wore in his sporting character, a velveteen coat, a great deal of blue stocking, ankle boots, a neckerchief of some bright colour, and a very tall hat. Pursuing his more quiet occupation of barber, he generally subsided into an apron not over-clean, a flannel jacket, and corduroy knee-shorts.”

There are obvious discrepancies between this portrait of Poll and what is known of William Turner, but the resemblances are sufficiently striking. Poll was a little, elderly man; Turner was short in stature and must have been 78 or thereabouts at the time of his attendance on Thomas Barrow. Poll was a lone, unmarried man; Turner had been a widower for nearly twenty years. Poll was meek and peace-loving, and all accounts agree as to the pacific and submissive disposition of old Turner. Poll's prosiness of speech is matched by the loquacity of the Dean Street barber, and the former's “ small, shrill, treble voice ” may have been based on a recollection of the latter's pronounced Devonshire twang. If Poll had something of the bird in his nature, Turner's beady bright-blue eyes, parrot nose and projecting chin were equally reminiscent of some members of the feathered family—and of Mr. Punch.

Dickens, it is true, locates Poll's shop in Kingsgate Street, Holborn, and makes him a bird-fancier as well as a barber; but this is in accordance with the novelist's usual practice of disguising names and giving free rein to his fancy when it suited his purpose to depart from his original. Whether William Turner was the prototype of Poll Sweedlepipe the reader must be left to decide for himself. In the light of the foregoing he would seem to have strong claims to be considered as the identical barber who shaved Dickens's uncle and was the theme of one of the boy's earliest literary efforts.

MORE PSYCHOLOGY

By T. W. HILL

MR. JULIAN SYMONS has written a little book,* not much more than a pamphlet, presenting a penetrating study, penetrating that is, if the reader is prepared to accept the premise that Dickens was a *Manic-depressive*. This term in psychology "describes a type of mental illness that, although its symptoms vary, is marked always by rapid alternations of apparently ceaseless exaltation (hypomania) and equally ceaseless depression." Manic-depression accounts for the phenomenon we call Charles Dickens.

The book is an example of the modern trend of biography in general and Dickensian biography in particular, and will find a place in the series of studies of Dickens that have appeared during the last fifteen years. Kingsmill began them in 1935 with the Self-pity theme, then came Thomas Wright (1935) with the influence on Dickens of Ellen Ternan, Gladys Storey (1939) with reproduced gossip, Dame Una Pope-Hennessy (1945) was rather subjective, Hesketh Person (1949) shewed Dickens in an erotic pursuit of an ideal woman, and Jack Lindsay (1950) held a Freudian inquest. There is now, however, in Mr. Symon's pamphlet, a slight difference in treatment. Whereas the former writers intended to be persuasive and plausible in expressing their views, Mr. Symons does not hold an enquiry but is as confident and pontifical as a High Court Judge pronouncing a sentence from which there is no appeal. The others *think*, with "probably" and "perhaps"; Mr. Symons *knows*.

Hence, Mr. Symons seems somehow to misfire. He gives a long quotation from Professor Emil Kraepelin's work *Manic-Depressive Insanity and Paranoia*, and then says it is a "remarkably apt description of Dickens," and that "the split-artist, the conscious element of whom belongs to the radical, the sentimentalist, the respectable bourgeois, the dandy, and the 'Inimitable,' and the unconscious, irrational, almost wholly erotic element that lies beneath it." I think he does not fully appreciate the fact that if ever a writer understood his public, Dickens did; his popularity arose and was maintained because he wrote of his characters from the inside; he wrote from personal recollection of having lived the lives of people from whom he had come himself. and I doubt whether a modern, living a century later and not belonging to the same class can "get into Dickens's skin." The *facts* given so carefully by Mr. Symons are beyond dispute, but his *conclusions* will not be very convincing to Dickensian students, although they may prevent those who have never read Dickens from making the attempt to do so.

Without taking up all the points on which I think Mr. Symons will meet with criticism, I will allude to two instances. He attacks the death scenes of Little Nell and Paul Dombey, and says they are "more nearly comic than touching," an aspect that may reflect the modern tendency towards materialism, but is certainly

* *Charles Dickens*, by Julian Symons. Arthur Barker, Ltd., "English Novelist Series," 92 pp., 8vo, 7s. 6d.

not universal. Death is still to the majority of us the Gate of Eternal Life and is therefore a serious and solemn event; ask the true mourner; ask the parent who has lost a dearly-loved child. That is why those death scenes moved Dickens's own readers to an extraordinary degree, and why, in spite of the long drawn-out harrowing details they still appeal to many of the present generation. Mr. Symons quite ignores those other death scenes, described with affecting restraint, of Susan Weller, Dora Copperfield, Mrs. Gargery, and Mr. Barkis, the last being one of the finest pieces of calm emotional composition that probably even Dickens ever penned.

The other quotation shews Mr. Symons's attitude to the period during which Dickens wrote: "Dickens was a victim of the Philistinism, the prudery, and the sentimentality of his age." But the standards to which Dickens adhered were those of Sheridan, Goldsmith, Scott, Austen, and other of his predecessors, as well as those of his contemporaries Lytton, Thackeray, George Eliot and others. Victorian opinion, led by the example of the Queen herself, had reacted strongly from the licence of the Restoration Drama that had lasted through the eighteenth century, and it was certainly time that the filth in the Augean Stables was cleared away.

Here is Dickens's own point of view in a letter to Wilkie Collins: "What was pure to an artist might be impurely suggestive to inferior minds (of which there must necessarily be many among a large mass of readers) and I should have called the writer's attention to the likelihood of those passages being perverted in such quarters." We see why John Forster, a stern moralist, wrote: "The first reflection that rises to the mind of any thoughtful person is the thankfulness that the most popular of writers, who had carried into the lowest scenes and conditions an amount of observation, fun and humour not approached by any of his contemporaries, should never have sullied that world-wide influence by a hint of impurity or a possibility of harm."

The modern trend of the pendulum to swing the other way again is not to me a sign of enlightenment, but merely that there are people with a morbid kind of relish in uncovering and exposing matters that our grandfathers thought were better not discussed openly and in casual print. If they demand attention they had better be left to the specialist and the social reformer, and not made the subject of novel-writing or tea-table talk.

This notice may close with the jibe with which Mr. Symons opens: "The Victorian Dickens, an amiable mixture of Santa Claus and his own Mark Tapley, is still celebrated by the Dickens Society and its curious publication *The Dickensian*." But perhaps Mr. Symons really intended the compliment implied.

Your Help Desired by the Editor

It would be appreciated if readers would send cuttings, or full references, of articles on Dickens and his Works appearing in CURRENT newspapers, journals and magazines, to the Hon. Editor.

DICKENS, THACKERAY AND W. A. CHATTO

By K. J. FIELDING

AMONG other writers whom Dickens assisted with their applications to the Royal Literary Fund Society, was William Andrew Chatto (1799-1864). He was a miscellaneous writer, author of a number of books on wood-engraving, and of others on subjects from fly-fishing to the history of playing cards. From 1839-1841 he was the editor of *The New Sporting Magazine* and later, in 1844, of the short-lived *Puck, A Journallette of Fun*. He was an associate of Hablot K. Browne ("Phiz") and a friend of Tom Taylor.

Dickens was asked to support Chatto's application by Chapman and Hall, who forwarded his letter to the secretary on July 25th, 1842, accompanied by one of their own in which they said, "We beg to hand you the accompanying letter from Mr. Charles Dickens, to whom we this morning communicated the condition of Mr. W. A. Chatto; who with his wife and young family are suffering under extreme and urgent distress." Dickens had written promptly on his behalf:

Devonshire Terrace
Twenty Fifth July 1842

My Dear Sir

I am exceedingly anxious to procure some assistance from the Literary Fund for Mr. W. A. Chatto, author of the *History of Wood Engraving* (published by Charles Knight)—*Rambles on the Scottish Border*—the *History of Fly-fishing*—and various works of research, and patient investigation. He is reduced, by various causes, to a state of the most extreme temporary distress; and is, I earnestly assure you, a most fit and proper subject for immediate relief.

In additional to my personal certificate and assurance that this is the case, he has the strongest recommendation to the Committee from Messrs. Chapman and Hall, booksellers, who are well acquainted with his situation, and have already assisted him themselves.

Pray, my dear Sir, do all you can in this matter, and oblige

Yours always Faithfully

Charles Dickens

I should have addressed the Committee without delay, but having only just now returned from America, I do not know whether they are sitting or no.

O. Blewitt Esquire

On the final page of the letter there is a note by the secretary to say: . . .

On the receipt of this note I went to Camden Town and saw Mr. Chatto—gave him all the necessary instructions, and wrote to Mr. Dickens & Messrs. Chapman and Hall: but Mr. Chatto after due consideration, decided on not making an Application at this time.

O. Blewitt.

July 1842

In fact, Chatto changed his mind, and filled in a form of application later in the year. He was helped again, after illness, in 1848, and once more in 1852. On this last occasion he was assisted by Tom Taylor, the *Punch* writer, who had contributed to *Puck* under his editorship. He managed to secure the support of both Dickens and Thackeray, the latter writing:

Kensington. Tuesday. May 18.

My dear Sir

My friend Mr. Tom Taylor has just sent me the enclosed statement and I forward it to you in hopes it may meet with the attention of the Fund.

Very faithfully yours

W. M. Thackeray.

It was accompanied by a letter from Taylor dated May 17th. Dickens wrote:

Tavistock House

Tuesday Eighteenth May 1852

Dear Sir

I am desirous very earnestly to recommend the case of Mr. Chatto, to the favorable consideration of the Committee of the Literary Fund. It is one of great distress and affliction, and Mr. Chatto is a most industrious man of upright character and steady habits, whose misfortunes have not been of his own seeking. His application is one of that class which I always supported when I had the honor of a seat at the Committee Board, and in reference to which I frequently ventured to suggest that the noblest usefulness of the Literary Fund can be most beneficially exercised. I beg to support it with whatever strength of recommendation I can urge.

Dear Sir

Faithfully Yours

Charles Dickens

O. Blewitt Esquire.

Chatto was later admitted to the Charterhouse, where he died on February 28th, 1864.

Thanks are due to the present General Committee of the Literary Fund for permission to make use of their records, and to Mr. H. C. Dickens for permission to quote Dickens's letters, which have not been published before.

BOOKS FOR SALE

Readers interested in the purchase of second-hand books on Dickensian subjects are invited to send their names to The Dickens House, 48 Doughty Street, London, W.C.1.



"THE CRICKET" ON THE STAGE

By MALCOLM MORLEY

THE morning of December 20th, 1845, saw the publication of the third of the Dickens's Christmas stories, *The Cricket on the Hearth*. The same evening Albert Smith's play on the subject was given at the Lyceum Theatre. It was the first of an army of Crickets to invade the London playhouses during the holiday season. In less than a month, seventeen pieces derived from this latest work of Charles were running concurrently in the Metropolis. No other book had so many immediate adaptations. Of the two dozen theatres in town only some six were without the chirrup of a Cricket that Christmastide. John Peerybingle, the carrier, and his cheery wife, Dot, dominated the dramatic field.

As written by the novelist the tale is arranged in three parts, or "chirps" as he calls them, each easily shaped into an act of a play. The adapter's task was all too facile. Dickens had patterned his work as near to play form as could be. It was done purposely. He wished to give a ground plan, as it were, to the playwright-hawks ever ready to pounce on everything that came from his pen. The task of adaptation needed little more than taking the dialogue and using it in the sequence prescribed by the author. Chirp One related the domestic happiness of honest John with the youthful Dot and then introduced the Stranger, a deaf old man whose hair was snowy-white. Chirp Two discovered the Stranger to be not an old man but a young one in disguise and on over-affectionate terms with Dot. Chirp Three dismissed John's natural jealousy by the revelation that the young man was Dot's own true brother, Edward, and in conclusion came a dance to end both book and play.

As in the case of *The Chimes* the previous year, Dickens gave his official sanction and blessing to one particular dramatisation of the new work. Sixteen other plays taken from *The Cricket on the Hearth*, all seen in London within a few weeks, were made without a by-your-leave from their contrivers. Novels were still unprotected by law. The version sanctioned by Charles was the one prepared by Albert Smith for Robert Keeley and his high-spirited wife at the Lyceum. He had switched from the Adelphi where the Christmas before his consent had been given to Edward Stirling's dramatisation of *The Chimes* and now bestowed his approval upon the piece to be done at another theatre. With the novelist's approval went the proof-sheets of *The Cricket on the Hearth*. They were given to Smith sufficiently in advance for him to make his adaptation, have it well rehearsed and ready for performance on the same date as the launching of the printed story. Eleven days were gained over the rival dramatisation that was to appear at the Adelphi.

Why did Dickens change his preference from the Adelphi to the Lyceum? Had he turned to Albert Smith now that his friends, Gilbert A. à Beckett and Mark Lemon, who had given *The Chimes* to the former playhouse, were not to supply the dramatisation of his latest work? Instead, it was to come from the Stirling mint and Charles set no great value on the coinage of that playwright.

Was it, perhaps, that Dickens's aversion to O. Smith had increased? This gnarled and knotted actor, never a favourite with him, remained attached to the Adelphi and was down for the part of Peerybingle. Or, again, was the preference for the Lyceum due to a cash payment from the management of that house for the proof-sheets of the story? The last reason would surely be fair enough when it is considered Charles would receive no royalties for the use made of his book at the Lyceum; nor, for that matter, from any of the other theatres staging plays from *The Cricket on the Hearth*.

Mr. and Mrs. Keeley began a new season at the Lyceum on



Edward Wright as Tilly Slowboy
Adelphi Theatre, 1845

from the painting at the Dickens House.

December 20th, 1845. The bill comprised three pieces, the first being *The Cricket on the Hearth, or, A Fairy Tale of the Home*, a drama in three acts. It was followed by a farce of Alfred Wigan. *Next Door*, and a comedy, *Our New Governess*, by Shirley Brookes. Albert Smith's version of Dickens was workmanlike and, though some of the acting was adversely criticised, the play proved a considerable success. Mrs. Keeley embodied Dot, and her husband was seen as the old toymaker, Caleb Plummer; their daughter Mary made her debut on the stage as his

blind daughter, Bertha. Thirteen years later she was to marry Albert the adapter. Others in the drama were Samuel Emery, ruggedly right as the carrier, Drinkwater Meadows as Tackleton, F. Vining as Edward, and Miss Turner as the eccentric Tilly Slowboy. The play, in line with the previous seasonal offerings from Dickens, had a dream scene. In this the Fairy Cricket (Miss Dawson) appeared before the slumbering John with a dozen little fairies whose mission was to dance and form a sort of border to a tableau of Dot and her baby.

On December 31st came the version by Edward Stirling at the Adelphi. It was described as a story in two chirps and, to a certain extent, was an abridgement of the play at the Lyceum. On the same bill was a melodrama, *The Lioness of the North*, and the Christmas Pantomime which rejoiced in the title of *Harlequin and Poonoowingkeewangfibeedeeflobeedeebuskeebung, or The King of the Cannibal Islands*. What a truly busy evening! In sharp

contrast to the lugubrious Peerybingle of O. Smith in *The Cricket* was the bouncing Dot of Mrs. Fitzwilliam. Caleb was played by Lambert, Bertha by Sarah Woolgar, and Tilly Slowboy by Edward Wright, whose features were lined with humour and whom Macready described as the best comedian he had ever seen.

Jolly Ned, as Wright was called, delighted audiences at the Adelphi and for some twenty years was king of farce and burlesque in that establishment, ruling the comic scene with unbounded energy. The public forgave him the liberties he took, his suggestiveness and lapses from good taste. He gagged his way through many a rôle, often with the barest knowledge of the author's text. Generally, his creations were caricatures, caricatures of himself; and, to the pit and gallery, they were irresistibly funny. Yet, withal, there were occasions when he was able to control his extravagant antics and give performances in a more natural vein. In his time the comedian played a number of Dickens characters; the Artful Dodger, Dick Swiveller, Simon Tappertit, Bob Cratchit, Alderman Cute and Mr. Tetterby, in addition to the faithful, head-banging, baby-minding Tilly. Wright's energies flagged towards the end of his career and in Boulogne, at the early age of 46, he died worn out, an utterly exhausted man.

The next dramatisation was a heavy and over-long play by Thomas Archer at the Princess's on January 1st of the following year. An elaboration was the dream of Peerybingle enacted at the back of a gauze curtain, one of the earliest recorded usages of such a device. Behind this curtain were visions: Dots of all ages and sizes, various Slowboys, a cemetery where all the tombs bore the name of Peerybingle and, finally, the figure of a young man holding Dot in his arms as the disturbing words were spoken, "Married, but not to me." The carrier and his wife were assigned to John Ryder and Mrs. Stirling, while Caleb Plummer was Henry Compton, the grandfather of the present-day Fay of that name.

Archer's adaptation was also given at the Victoria, the initial showing being on January 5th, 1846, a Monday night when nine *Cricket on the Hearth* plays had first performances at different London theatres. On the list was a version by W. T. Townsend at the City of London Theatre where Mrs. R. Honner, a tearful heroine of Victorian domestic drama vied, as Dot, with the still more tearful heroine Miss Vincent, at the Victoria. At the Albert Saloon *The Cricket on the Hearth or The Carrier and his Wife* was by C. Z. Barnett who brought Gripe and Dodger, two creditors of Caleb, into the drama. William James Lucas provided a version at the Marylebone and that same evening anonymous adaptations appeared at the Queen's, the Pavilion, the Garrick, the Effingham Saloon and the Standard, although it is probable that the drama at the last-mentioned house was a duplication of the Stirling work at the Adelphi.

After the production being announced for December 27th there was a delay of ten days before Benjamin Webster produced his own dramatisation on January 6th at the Haymarket, this being the first time any story from Dickens had graced its Theatre-Royal boards. It was proudly designated the West End version and, even if in much the same mould as the others, had a particularly

interesting cast; Webster as Peerybingle, William Farren as Caleb, Miss Fortesque as Dot, Mrs. Seymour as Bertha and the ripe comedian John Baldwin Buckstone, following in the petticoats of Wright, as Tilly Slowboy. The character, like that of Mrs. Gamp, was popular with comedians in skirts. In America, at a later date it allowed full scope for the jocosity of the grimacing comedian, John Sleeper Clarke.

Different indeed was *The Cricket on the Hearth* in performance two days later at the Bower Saloon (Sour Balloon to the irreverent) where it was staged as a pantomime with all the trappings of a Yuletide entertainment: Harlequin, Columbine, Clown and Pantaloon.

Another use of the Dickens's book was made by E. L. Blanchard writing under one of his many noms-de-plume. As Amadis Snooks he was responsible for a burlesque *The Cricket on our own Hearth* on January 15th at the Olympic. Though but a half-witted affair the piece endured for a month. Dot was given a wild Irish accent for some reason or other by Kate Howard and Peerybingle wallowed in mock heroics apostrophised by James Browne. The Cricket, a substantial gentleman in brown tights and muslin wings, sat down and smoked a cigar with the carrier. In the last scene the flats were illuminated with various transparent crickets and above them stood the names of theatres where different stage versions of the book had been produced.

Despite pantomime and burlesque, straight plays taken from the story still trod upon each other's heels. On January 13th there was *The Cricket on the Hearth* at the Grecian, where the great little Robson was the principal comedian. Showing on January 16th was a dramatisation by B. F. Rayner at the Apollo Saloon, an illusive house of entertainment belonging to the past. Away from the capital several theatres gave versions claimed as being "written expressly" for them. That at the Theatre Royal, Edinburgh, on January 23rd, 1846, was attributed to "Charles" Archer. Among the places where adaptations were seen during the year were Dublin and Newcastle.

The plague of Crickets in the theatre eventually came to a halt and it was nearly a decade before a new adaptation appeared in London. At the Strand on March 19th, 1855, was a version by John Halford who, himself, played Peerybingle; Rogerson was Caleb and the singer, Rebecca Isaacs, played Dot. Under another management, the same theatre gave a revival of Albert Smith's play on November 9th, 1857, when Samuel Emery repeated Peerybingle and Dot was played by Mary Anne Victor. From now on *The Cricket* may be said to have rested, as far as London was concerned, until the arrival of Dion Boucicault from America with the most successful version of all.

After the publication of the book, the United States had not long to wait before *The Cricket on the Hearth* reached the stage there. At the Chatham Theatre, New York, on February 11th, 1846, a piece put together by Mrs. G. Jones was produced and failed completely. Junius Brutus Booth (Jr.), elder brother of the more famous Edwin, appeared as Peerybingle and Mrs. Nichols as Dot. Meeting with slightly more approval in the city was the

imported Albert Smith version seen at the Park ten days later with a cast including Charles Bass as Caleb, G. H. Andrews as Peerybingle, Mrs. Knight as Dot, and Mrs. Dyott as Tilly Slowboy. During February and March of 1846, Boston and Philadelphia staged dramatisations, but with no great success.

It was not until another generation that a play founded on the story became popular. This was called *Dot* and was the work of Dion Boucicault. Produced at the Winter Garden, New York, on September 14th, 1859, it marked the entry into management of Boucicault and William Stuart. The piece was to see long service on the stage, being used as a vehicle for the talents of such stars as Joseph Jefferson and John E. Owens who, between them, must have taken *Dot* to every possible playhouse in English-speaking America. These actors were attracted to the character of old Caleb and the part grew and grew in prominence as they added lines and elaborated the business over the years they acted in the play.

Boucicault, in his version, introduced immortals from Shakespeare to the Dickens scene. The drama was set, as it were, in a fairy frame; the opening being not unlike the commencement of the characteristic Christmas pantomime. In a wood Titania and Oberon met with the Fairy Home who told them she was guarding the hearth of the Peerybingles. The people in the story were then seen in a vision before the play proper began. The history of the carrier and his wife which followed was deftly combined with that of the toymaker and the blind Bertha. Sentiment prevailed in the play, even more than in Dickens's text. Joseph Jefferson played Caleb, a rôle he was to enact in several subsequent revivals. Certain of his admirers regarded the performance as his best, placing it above that of Rip van Winkle in which he was seen the world over. Associated with Jefferson at the Winter Garden was Agnes Robertson (Mrs. Dion Boucicault) and Mrs. John Wood. The first made an appealing Dot and the second revelled in the risibilities of Tilly, the first of her long series of Dickens characters.

In later showings *Dot* was sometimes given with, and sometimes without, the fairy opening. Jefferson, himself, tinkered with the script and so, too, did John E. Owens. The latter played the part of the old toymaker, on and off, for twenty years: from Christmas, 1859, when the piece began a two months' run at the Varieties Theatre, New Orleans, to 1879 in New York. *Dot* was decidedly a favourite play in the United States and Canada. Its popularity was unabated during the time that Owens toured the country.

A note of passing interest is connected with a production at the Boston Museum in February, 1860, the Dot of the occasion being Jean Davenport, then a mature actress of considerable reputation but in her childhood the alleged original of Ninetta Crummes, the Infant Phenomenon of Dickens. Caleb was acted by William Warren so long enshrined in the memory of Boston playgoers.

It has been told of Boucicault that his play *Dot* was translated from a French drama of Mélesville and Guillard, *Le Marchand de Jouets d'Enfants* which, in turn, was an adaptation of *The Cricket*

on the Hearth. Boucicault, it seems, was ignorant of the original story and did not in any way connect the French drama with Dickens until the likeness was pointed out to him. He then, hastily, rechristened the names of the characters to accord with those of the novelist. But such an anecdote must be apocryphal. When the story was first published, Boucicault was a highly successful dramatist in London. A version of *The Cricket* was on the bill at the Haymarket the very evening that one of his own comedies, *The Old School*, was produced there. He must have been aware of Dickens's book and of the early adaptations, seventeen of them be it remembered. As a dramatic author Boucicault would surely take notice of what was happening in the theatres. Neither can it be said he was unversed in plays from Dickens. As a tyro actor in his teens at the Strand, the aspiring playwright had attempted Lord Verisopht in Moncrieff's adaptation of *Nicholas Nickleby*. The legend of *Le Marchand de Jouets d'Enfants* can well be dismissed. Apropos of French plays taken from *The Cricket*, one produced considerably later at the Odéon in Paris might be mentioned here. This was *Le Grillon du Foyer* in December, 1919.

Shortly after the Winter Garden production, Dion Boucicault returned to England with a wallet full of plays. He joined forces with Webster at the Adelphi and there launched a sensational success in *The Colleen Bawn*. It was followed by other of his dramas and on April 14th, 1862, *Dot* was given at the theatre for the first time in London. The name-part was not taken by Agnes Robertson, but by Louise Keeley, another of the Keeley daughters. Sarah Woolgar now played Tilly Slowboy and the gracious Henrietta Simms portrayed Bertha. Again Samuel Emery was seen as Peerybingle, the character he had created in the earlier version by Albert Smith. With his quaint and genial approach, John Lawrence Toole scored a big hit as Caleb Plummer. On the borders of stardom it helped to establish him in the front rank of comedians. Like Jefferson and Owens he found the part an excellent medium for his particular stage talent, a blend of humour and pathos.

Dot was revived with Toole at the Queen's Theatre in Long Acre on January 4th, 1869. Henry Irving was in the company and played John Peerybingle, a rôle, physically, not altogether in his line it might be hazarded. Toole and Irving were boon companions. Comedian and tragedian always found pleasure in each other and their friendship was to last through life. After the Queen's engagement, they toured together in the Provinces giving, among other plays, *Caleb Plummer*, as the Boucicault piece was called on the road. Another title used for the drama was *A Christmas Story*. So it was labelled when done at the Gaiety on December 24th, 1870, where supporting Toole in the revival was the afterwards famous Nelly Farren as Tilly. Whatever its name, *Dot* continued to be acted by the comedian almost to the end of his career and was shown on a number of occasions at his own playhouse, the Folly, or, as it was later designated, Toole's Theatre. The building was pulled down towards the end of the last century and on the site now stands the Charing Cross Hospital.

Speaking of a performance of *Dot* in a provincial town, Toole delighted in telling the story of an evening when the actress cast for the part of Bertha was taken suddenly ill and unable to go on. There was no understudy available and, per force, poor blind Bertha had to be laboriously read by a hastily summoned deputy.

Going back to other revivals of *Dot*, the play was given on April 21st, 1866, during W. H. C. Nation's term of management at Sadlers Wells. George Belmore was the toymaker and Tom Swinbourne the carrier. Forty years later Nation presented what was announced as a new version of *The Cricket on the Hearth* at the now defunct Terry's Theatre in the Strand on December 1st, 1906. There was a semblance to the Boucicault piece, though without the fairy element from Shakespeare. A skimpy production and a mediocre cast, with the exception of Charles Groves as Caleb, did not attract the multitude.

William Henry Codrington Nation was one of theatreland's eccentrics; a wealthy man who, after years away from stage activities, returned to them in his old age. Back in management, Nation rented theatre after theatre in the West End, usually to put on plays he had been concerned with in the past. His re-hashed offerings were not appreciated; perhaps they did not deserve to be—only his courage. Paying audiences were lacking: the box office took nearly nothing. William Henry was not daunted. At every performance he sat in the wings and applauded loudly, clapping his hands and banging his feet. His enthusiasm was wafted over the footlights to the silent few in front. Seats were distributed to all and sundry to help make an audience. In order that the pit and gallery should not be empty, Nation paid people to stand in queues outside the theatre waiting for the doors to open. The long lines gave the appearance of good business to the passing crowd. But how annoyed he was when the hired standees for pit and gallery, having waited as per contract, refused to enter the doors and view the performance—free! It was enough for them that they had done their job outside.

On December 1st, 1903, the Boucicault play with alterations and now entitled *The Cricket on the Hearth* was given at the present Garrick Theatre. J. H. Barnes was the Peerybingle and Jessie Bateman the Dot in this uneven revival, which ran until February 14th of the next year. Arthur Bouchier made a burly Caleb and Violet Vanburgh a stately Bertha.

Though the work of Boucicault stayed the course, there were other adaptations to reach the stage. An anonymous version was shown at Astley's on February 13th, 1865, and one by H. Hazelwood at the Alexandra Theatre (Highbury Barn) on February 17th, 1868. Amateur performances have been given of a published adaptation by John Wallace and in *Dot*, a new version by W. Teignmouth Shore at the Cripplegate Institute on December 22nd, 1908, Mrs. J. T. Grein, wife of the famous critic, acted the title rôle. The adapter played Peerybingle and in the company were Frederick T. Harry as Tackleton and Louis Rihll (of pierrot repute) as Caleb.

Another version of the book, adapted and produced by Robert Atkins, appeared at the Old Vic on December 18th, 1922. Caleb

was played by the brilliant Hay Petrie and the cast also included Wilfred Walter as Peerybingle, Rupert Harvey as Tackleton, Jane Bacon as Bertha and Florence Buckton as Tilly.

A more recent dramatisation of the story was by Sir Barry Jackson, *The Cricket on the Hearth* produced at the Birmingham Repertory Theatre on December 23rd, 1941. It was a year when bombs were falling and buildings blazing. The playhouse had war scars to show. In tune with the times, no properties were used during the performance. They were all imagined and so the characters sat down to roast turkey that was not there and passed absent plates of nothing to each other.

Operatic possibilities of *The Cricket* have not remained unexplored. At the State Opera House in Vienna on March 21st, 1896, was produced Karl Goldmark's work on the subject, *Das Heimchen am Herd*, the libretto by A. M. Willner. An English version by Percy E. Pinkerton was brought by the Carl Rosa Opera Co. as near London as the Brixton Theatre on November 23rd, 1900. Goldmark's work reached America with a libretto by C. H. Meltzer and was first heard in Philadelphia, November 7th, 1912. Another musical setting was by Sir Alexander Mackenzie with a text arranged from Dickens by Julian Sturgess. It was given a hearing on June 6th, 1914, at Duke's Hall, Marylebone, that is the Royal Academy of Music. Before his death, Edward Solomon had engaged to provide the score for an opera on the subject, the libretto of which was furnished by F. C. Burnand. Fate willed otherwise. Solomon passed away in 1895: the libretto remains.

In addition to the French plays and the German opera based on *The Cricket*, there was another showing of the Dickens story on the continent; a Russian adaptation produced at the First Studio of the Moscow Art Theatre in the early years of the present century. Particulars are behind the Iron Curtain.

RECENT DICKENSIANA

- "Wilkie Collins." Kenneth Robinson. Bodley Head. 18s.
 "Moods of London." R. J. Cruikshank. Hamish Hamilton. 10s. 6d.
 (The above will be reviewed in our next number)
 "Charles Dickens." Julian Symons. Arthur Barker. 7s. 6d.
 "The Mystery of *Martin Chuzzlewit*." Ada B. Nisbet. *Essays Crit. & Hist.* Univ. of Cal. Press, 1950.
 "Dickens at work on *Dombey and Son*," John Butt and Kathleen Tillotson. *Essay & Studies*, 1951, The English Association.
 "New Light on the Dickens-Poe Relationship." Ada B. Nisbet. 19th Cent. Fiction. March.
 "Surviving Dickens: London." O. D. Savage. Contemporary Review. July.
 "The Making of *David Copperfield*." K. J. Fielding. The Listener, July 19th.
 "Oliver Twist—a Revision." Lauriat Lane, Junr. Times Lit. Supplement, July 20th.
 "Dickens and Maria Goodluck." K. J. Fielding. Notes and Queries, September 29th.
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THE FELLOWSHIP IN RETROSPECT

THE HALF-CENTURY APPROACHES COMPLETION

By JOHN GRÉAVES

I

THE history of the Dickens Fellowship, begun by Walter Dexter in *The Dickensian* for 1944, and continued by Mr. A. W. Edwards in the volume for 1951, is here extended almost until the present time in preparation for the Fellowship's Jubilee, which will be celebrated in the early Autumn of next year. Mr. Dexter covered the years from the beginning in October 1902 until 1908, and Mr. Edwards continued the story from thence until his appointment as Hon. Secretary in 1925. From that date I have endeavoured to trace the history until my own appointment as Hon. Secretary three years ago, thus almost completing the story of the struggles and the progress of the Fellowship for its first half-century.

I begin with what may be called the Edwardian Period in the history of the Fellowship, that covered by the eleven years of office of Mr. A. W. Edwards as Hon. Secretary. In 1925, on the retirement of Mr. C. H. Green, Hon. Secretary for five years, Mr. Edwards, at the 1925 Conference in London, was elected to succeed him. As Mr. Edwards has pointed out, this Conference was memorable for the opening of the Dickens House, 48 Doughty Street, by Lord Birkenhead, on June 9th.

These years saw the loss of many prominent Dickensians, including B. W. Matz, our founder and the Editor of *The Dickensian* for twenty-one years; Percy Fitzgerald, our first President; Sir Luke Fildes, illustrator of *The Mystery of Edwin Drood*, W. Pett Ridge, both Past Presidents; Sir Alfred Robbins—the latter during his year of office as President; and our two Life Presidents, Mrs. Perugini and Sir Henry Fielding Dickens. It is a pleasant thought that Matz lived to see the culmination of his great ambition, the opening of 48 Doughty Street as a Dickens Museum and the Fellowship headquarters installed there. The pleasure he would have had in the publication of the coming-of-age number of *The Dickensian*, however, he did not live to enjoy, and the task fell to hands other than his. Tributes were paid to him by many eminent men of the day in the Matz Memorial number, on which the name of Walter Dexter appeared for the first time as Editor. Following the funeral a Memorial Service arranged by the President, Mr. W. Pett Ridge, was held at St. Martins-in-the-Fields, at which the address was delivered by Sir Hall Caine. In addition to his great service to the Fellowship in its foundation and as Editor of *The Dickensian*, B. W. Matz had given the Dickens House Museum and Library a wonderful start by lending to it his Dickens collection of over 1,300 books and pamphlets. This unique collection included specimen volumes of 70 different editions of Dickens, 65 volumes of plays, readings, etc., 113 different editions of *A Christmas Carol* alone, in addition to 300 portraits of Dickens, over 100 framed pictures and numerous other relics and mementos. As long as the Fellowship exists, the

name of B. W. Matz will be remembered and revered as one of the greatest Dickensians. It was not until 1927 that the estate of the late B. W. Matz was finally wound up and then it seemed likely that the Dickens House would lose the wonderful collection he had loaned to it. Sir Charles Wakefield, Bart., however, who was elected President that year, made a most generous gesture by purchasing the entire collection and presenting it in trust for the Nation, to be permanently housed at 48 Doughty Street.

Our Life President, Mrs. Perugini, after seeing the Fellowship celebrate its Twenty-fifth Anniversary, died in 1929 at the advanced age of 90. She was always keenly interested in the welfare and activities of the Fellowship and, until ill-health confined her to her home in Chelsea, she honoured many of our meetings by her presence, often taking the Chair with grace and dignity, making speeches which were a delight to all who heard them. Yet another great link with Dickens was broken in 1933, by the death of our Life President, Sir Henry Fielding Dickens (Common Sergeant of London).

On relinquishing the office of Hon. Treasurer, which he had held for eighteen years, to take over the Editorship of *The Dickensian*, Walter Dexter was succeeded by Percy T. Carden, the new appointment being confirmed at the Twentieth Conference at St. Albans. This was the first Conference held at a town in which no branch existed—the nearest being at Hatfield. Mr. Carden only held the office of Hon. Treasurer for two years, and was succeeded by W. J. Fisher. Mr. Fisher held this office until 1932 when, owing to ill-health, he resigned, and his place was taken by Mr. T. W. Hill, who, during the 1914 war had served for five years in the office of Hon. Secretary. Mr. Fisher died later that year.

At the Twenty-fifth Annual Conference a presentation was made to Mr. A. W. Edwards to signalise the completion of his six years as Hon. Secretary, and in the October of that year he acted in the very useful capacity of ambassador to our American and Canadian Branches. Among the Branches visited were Boston, Montreal, Toronto, Chicago, Pittsburg, Philadelphia, New York and Hamilton. During his absence, W. B. Warren was appointed Acting Hon. Secretary.

During the years 1931-2 it was decided that one-third of the Executive Committee should retire each year, but as they were eligible for re-election this had little effect on the introduction of new members. A modification of this rule years later was more effective in this respect.

The last two years of the Fellowship's first quarter of a century were marked by great activity. Following the opening of the Dickens House in 1925, most of our energies were turned to the building up of an Endowment Fund—still our principal aim twenty-six years later. A special appeal was made in the Press on the One hundred and thirteenth Anniversary of Dickens's birth for donations to this Fund and the proceeds of many of the Fellowship's activities were devoted to this cause. A broadcast of the Trial scene from *Pickwick* was made from "2 LO" to celebrate the book's anniversary, in which Sir Edward Marshall Hall, K.C., read the part of Sergeant Buzfuz, A. S. Comyns Carr,

K.C., was the Junior Counsel and W. Pett Ridge was Sam Weller. As a result of this broadcast the B.B.C. gave 100 guineas to the Endowment Fund of the Dickens House. Important anniversaries were becoming quite common and a few months before our Twenty-fifth Birthday, the centenary of the meeting of the Pickwick Club was observed by yet another broadcast—this time of the first chapter of the book. On the following morning, Mr. Pickwick and his friends, portrayed by members of the Fellowship, once again made the journey to Rochester by the Commodore Coach. The ride was almost as impressive as a royal procession and the immortal Pickwick was greeted by the Mayors of many boroughs *en route*. Our own Twenty-fifth Anniversary was celebrated by a Dinner, with Sir Charles Wakefield in the Chair. The toast to the Dickens Fellowship was proposed by G. K. Chesterton. The years 1926-8 saw several busts and plaques placed on houses and sites of Dickensian association. The Fitzgerald bust of Dickens on the site of Furnivals Inn was replaced by the Prudential Assurance Co. by one in bronze; an inscription was placed on the site of Tavistock House by the British Medical Association, and a tablet to mark the site of Cobley's Farm, Finchley, where Dickens stayed in 1843 while writing *Martin Chuzzlewit* was unveiled by Lady Tree. A bust of Dickens was also presented by the Fellowship to the Lant Street Schools in Southwark. In 1926, the National Dickens Library, originally F. G. Kitton's collection, acquired by the Fellowship and housed at Guildhall, was generously transferred to 48 Doughty Street by the City Corporation.

Also in 1926, the Committee accomplished its desire to publish the Fellowship's own magazine, *The Dickensian*, from its Headquarters at 48 Doughty Street. Strange to say, although our Society had originally come into being through a periodical, *Household Words*, and the members recruited from its readers, it did not occur to those guiding the destiny of the Fellowship at that time, to make the magazine an integral part of its work when *The Dickensian* was launched. The initial endeavour and aim for several years seems to have been to retain the lowest possible subscription, instead of founding the Fellowship on a firm economic basis. As shown in previous chapters of this history, the result was to drive the Fellowship into financial difficulties and, indeed, almost proved its undoing. In 1926, however, it was decided to make the magazine part of our membership—an obvious practice in a Literary Society—and a proposition to that effect was put to Conference at St. Albans. Unfortunately, the requisite notice had not been given to the Branches, and the proposition was therefore withdrawn from the agenda. Raised again at the 1927 Conference at Birmingham, the much discussed contention that all members should become subscribers to the magazine was modified to affect only those Branches formed after September 30th, 1927, and the "inclusive rule," as we have since known it, was passed.

Over all these years the Fellowship did not fail to fulfil one of the most important of its aims and objects, that in regard to charitable work. Sets of Dickens's works were presented to

hospitals and asylums. The Christmas treats and entertainments to scholars of Lant Street Schools in Southwark were held regularly and wonderful work carried out by our lady members under the direction of Mrs. A. W. Edwards, who, in this way especially, rendered memorable service. The Christmas Toy Fund was strongly supported each year, many deserving charities subscribed to, and charitable objects carried out by our Branches. In this way and by such creditable work of its officers as Walter Dexter's *Life of Dickens*, adopted by the L.C.C. and other Educational bodies as a standard authority on the subject—the Fellowship completed its twenty-fifth year in great strength.

The first year of its second quarter of a century saw the Fellowship established in such opposite ends of the globe as Copenhagen and Buenos Aires, and its total membership at that time possibly reached its peak at over 10,000. It was in this year, too, that fifteen members of Headquarters were first constituted as the Executive Committee of Council, an arrangement which still exists, and Miss Minards first assumed the title of Assistant Secretary after seven years with the Fellowship.

Centenaries of incidents in *Pickwick* were still being celebrated and yet another was observed during the year by the broadcast by the Fellowship of the Trial, under the direction of Mr. Frank Staff. Such well-known Dickensians as William Miles as Buzfuz, Will Owen as the Judge, S. J. Rust as Pickwick, and Frank Johnson as Sergeant Snubbin took part, and as a result of the broadcast once again the Dickens House received a donation towards its Endowment Fund—this time of 20 guineas.

At this time quite a storm was raised by the formation of a rival society in America, whose professed objects were almost identical with those of the Fellowship. This matter was taken up very strongly by our New York Branch supported by Headquarters in London, and an agreement was eventually arrived at.

Publicity was not neglected. At the famous production of *Pickwick* at the Haymarket Theatre in 1928, one thousand booklets of the Dickens House were distributed on the first night and the Fellowship enjoyed a useful advertisement in the programme during the run of the play. We were brought into prominent public notice too, a year later, when at the One hundred and seventeenth Anniversary Birthday Dinner, the principal speech of Lord Hewitt, Lord Chief Justice of England, was broadcast. Famous personalities continued to grace our dinners, and in 1930 our Birthday Dinner was honoured by the presence of Mr. Stanley Baldwin, the ex-Prime Minister, who proposed the Toast of the Immortal Memory of Charles Dickens. Mr. Dexter broadcast on "Dickens's London," officers of the Fellowship appeared at a Children's Party as Dickens characters (resulting in a donation of £30 to our Fund) and during an historical pageant at Rochester the Pickwickians again arrived by coach. The L.C.C. and Secondary School Essay Competitions were a regular feature during these years. Yet, again, a coach ride was used to keep Dickens in the public mind and the Twenty-fourth Annual Conference at Bath was signalled by the arrival of Mr. Pickwick

and his friends on a coach and their greeting by the Mayor on arrival at the Guildhall.

Useful activities of other kinds were being carried out in the meantime. We find the beginning of the rota of members for Saturday duty at Dickens House; the introduction of "Roundabouts" to add interest to Council meetings and the approval of the scarlet geranium badge for members, the accepted design being submitted to Conference by the St. Pancras Branch.

An important step at the previous Conference at Eastbourne in 1931 was the proposal first known as the Federation of Branches. This later developed into the Regional Group Scheme, the country being divided into eight regions for this purpose. By this time American and Canadian Branches were already holding inter-Branch Conferences concurrently with the Conference in this country. By January, 1932, the first group was formed in the North-West Region and by 1933 three were in operation, including the North-West Group, one around Birmingham and the other under the guidance of St. Pancras. A revival of this system would undoubtedly be of great help to the Fellowship, but so far only the North-West Region has survived to the credit and benefit of the Branches in that part of the country.

In November, 1931, what turned out to be a most important resolution was passed by the Executive Committee: Miss Minards, at her request, was authorised to invite gifts of costumes to establish a collection suitable for hiring. Very wisely she was given a free hand for twelve months to develop this Branch of the Fellowship. By the end of the twelve months she was ready to hand over 37 costumes, besides other items useful in that section and a small balance in cash. Thanks were expressed to the lady members who had put in such excellent voluntary work to reach this satisfactory result and the designing and dressmaking of Mrs. Jane Bacon was specially mentioned.

At the Christmas Party this year, the costumes were judged and prizes were given by Sir John Martin Harvey and Lady Dickens. Three of the prizes were won by costumes supplied by the newly-established costume department. By the next year's Conference in Blackpool the number of costumes had increased to 47, and in yet another year to 66. Judged at the following Christmas Party by Dame Madge Kendall, again great credit was due to the Costumes Department by four of them carrying off prizes, and as many as 176 hirings were made in 1935.

In 1931, as a result of a strong protest from the Dickens Fellowship, the sale of a set of Dickens's works, presented by the author to the Soldiers Institute at Chatham, was stopped. The books were subsequently displayed in the Regimental Library of the Bechley Institute, Kitchener Barracks, Chatham. That district appears to have figured, too, in a previous protest by the Fellowship, and we find some years earlier that as a result of our objection, the Rochester Corporation decided not to proceed with the proposed demolition of ancient buildings of historical and Dickensian interest in the High Street. An effort was made, too, by the Fellowship to preserve the David Copperfield Library at 13 Johnson Street, then offered for sale. An image of a figure

blowing a dry shell was supplied and installed by the Dickens Fellowship in the David Copperfield Garden, Southwark. This site previously known as County Terrace Gardens, was renamed at the instigation of the Dickens Fellowship, to mark the resting place of Young David before starting on his tramp to Dover.

The following year Col. W. L. Gadd located the correct Honeymoon Cottage at Chalk, but efforts to remove the tablet from the incorrect house, placed there by the Gravesend Branch, were unsuccessful. At the Fellowship's request the medallion in front of the Red Lion in Parliament Street, where Young David obtained his glass of "genuine stunning," was renovated and the sign of the Golden Dog and Pot known to Dickens as a child, was purchased by the Fellowship and presented to the Cuming Museum, Southwark.

All this time our charitable aims were pursued with great enthusiasm. It is very surprising, therefore, to find criticism being made at the Blackpool Conference by one of our Vice-Presidents that the Fellowship was not carrying out its avowed object to help the cause of the poor and oppressed. A subsequent analysis of our Branch activities proved that the Dickens Fellowship had every reason to be proud of this side of its work and the unjustified criticism therefore had its good effect in causing us to review our achievements.

In the year 1934 the publication of the Beadnell letters resulted in Walter Dexter donating his considerable editorial fees to the Fellowship. The name of the Fellowship was kept to the fore by the formation of an Advisory Committee within its ranks to adjudicate in the *News Chronicle* David Copperfield Film Competition and the fact that our distinguished member and later President, Sir Stephen Killick, was Lord Mayor that year brought us further into prominence by an invitation to us to provide a Dickens Pageant in the Lord Mayor's Show. The year ended on two projects—one of which developed, but the other unfortunately did not. The proposal was first raised to hold Conference aboard ship, presumably crossing the Atlantic, but it was found later that difficulties were insuperable. This year, however, saw the formation of the Pickwick Centenary Committee, whose work and plans were to bear fruit in 1936.

It was very gratifying in these days to find that film companies who contemplated producing Dickens films, sought our advice, especially in the case of *The Old Curiosity Shop* and *David Copperfield*. The services of one of our distinguished Vice-Presidents, Hugh Walpole, were enlisted to supervise the preparation of the *David Copperfield* script, for which purpose he went to Hollywood, and Walter Dexter's advice was also sought. A *Great Expectations* film had its *première* screening in the Dickens House before the trustees and members of the Executive Committee. Further interest was aroused by a broadcast interview between our Hon. Secretary and Francis L. Sullivan, the Jagers of this earlier film as he was of a later version in 1946.

(To be concluded)

ARTHUR MORELAND

By FRANK A. GIBSON

To many older readers of *The Dickensian* the name of Arthur Moreland (who died in August at the age of 83) will recall more than his strikingly beautiful, almost Duereresque or Stanley Andersonish drawings of localities and scenes connected with Dickens.* The exquisite finish of these strong pen-and-ink drawings contrasts remarkably with the care-free and highly characterised sketchiness of Moreland's earlier work as a political cartoonist. In the years of Joseph Chamberlain's campaign for "Protection," Arthur Moreland's cartoons in the *Morning Leader* (later amalgamated with the *Daily News*) were a daily delight and invigoration to the Liberal protagonists. Moreland was a notable predecessor of David Low. But the Great War killed the politics he defended, and Moreland's occupation, like that of his brilliant colleague, Spencer Leigh Hughes ("Sub Rosa" of the *Morning Leader*), was gone.

Owners of his volumes of architectural drawings of Dickensian interest will occasionally find in the accessory figures a "hark-back" to his earlier style; and copies are still met with of his *Humors of History*, originally published in the *Morning Leader*, also in his cartoonist manner. It is a curious thought how much of all this earlier work, very popular in its day, has vanished from recollection, leaving in its place work of a totally different kind and of an interest which will endure. Moreland's first career ended in the flames of the war into which his Party peacefully drifted, and from which, phoenix-like, he arose transformed. His second phase showed him as a finer artist if not a greater Dickens-lover than he had been previously thought to be.

The Dickensian is a specialised magazine, but a few words about Arthur Moreland's *Humors of History* may not be unwelcome. This remarkable, this "curious" work, was, a real *tour de force*; ill in bed for six weeks Moreland went through a concise *History of England*, making pencil marks in the margins to indicate a consecutive series of events. The result was the budget of 160 cartoons, containing, as he said, "nothing that could bring the blush of modesty to the cheek of the most inveterate army contractor." Like Dickens, Moreland took history seriously rather than solemnly, but his seriousness in the case of the *Humors* took the form of "cocking a snook" at most of it. This was in 1903. The whole series is an anachronistic revel. It deserves to be remembered not merely as a period piece but as the work of a man of surprising natural talent and genius. Moreland was a skilled water-colorist; a beautiful specimen of his work hangs in the Savage Club—a study of the Henry VII chapel at Westminster on which he worked intensively for three months.

Moreland's knowledge of Dickens, as of London, was "extensive and peculiar"; he was fond of likening people he knew to their appropriate Dickens counterparts.

* *Dickens in London*, 1928, *Dickens Landmarks in London*, 1931.

NOTES ON *Sketches by Boz*

By T. W. HILL

Continued from page 218

TALES V—HORATIO SPARKINS (*Monthly Magazine*, February, 1834)

[One of the most perfect of all Dickens's short stories although only the third piece he published].

1. NETTING A PURSE. Netting was a lady's accomplishment as well as a useful occupation. In *Hard Times* Mrs. Sparsit was proficient in the art, and David Copperfield might have been a happier child if Miss Murdstone's purse had been of netting instead of steel with rivets.

2. PRINCE LEOPOLD. (See Our Parish II.)

3. LION ON THE TOP OF NORTHUMBERLAND HOUSE. This was on the site of Northumberland Avenue, constructed in 1876. when the mansion was demolished and the lion went to Syon House, Isleworth. There was an amusing tradition that if a "country cousin" gazed at it for a sufficiently long time the lion's tail would wag. The present writer knows this is true from personal experience. Scott refers to this tale in his "Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft": "the exploit of a humourist who planted himself in an attitude of astonishment with his eyes riveted on the well-known bronze lion that graces the front of Northumberland House in the Strand, and having attracted the attention of those who looked at him by muttering 'By Heaven, it wags!—it wags again!' contrived in a few minutes to blockade the whole street with an immense crowd, some conceiving that they had absolutely seen the Lion of Percy wag his tail, others expecting to witness the same phenomenon." (Letter I).

4. A DISTINGUISHED FOREIGNER. A sly allusion probably to Prince Pückler-Muskau who, visited England in 1830 and published his "Briefe eines Verstorbenen" (remarks on the manners and customs of the inhabitants and anecdotes of distinguished characters). In *Pickwick Papers* there is another allusion to this gentleman in Count Smolstork.

5. GEORGE BARNWELL. The title of a tragedy by George Lillo (1693-1739). It was called also *The London Merchant*. It was immensely popular and was constantly revived especially at Christmas time. There were many allusions to its plot in current light literature and Horace and James Smith did not forget it in their "Rejected Addresses":

"All you who attend to my song,

A terrible end of the farce shall see,

If you join the inquisitive throng

That follow'd poor George to the Marshalsea.

'If Millwood were here, dash my wigs'

Quoth he, 'I would pummel and lam her well;

Had I stuck to my prunes and my figs,

I ne'er had stuck Nunky at Camberwell.'"

The play was known to Sam Weller in the *Pickwick Papers*, and it was a medium for the histrionic talents of Mr. Wopsle in *Great Expectations*; there are several references in others of the novels.

6. THE ALBANY. A mansion in Piccadilly converted into very select chambers. Before 1803 it had been the house of the Duke of Albany, son of King George III (see "Paradise in Piccadilly" by Harry Furniss (1925).)

7. HOW LIKE LORD BYRON! Byron would of course appeal to the flirtatious Miss Teresa, as Montgomery would to the sentimental Miss Marianne. It was probably not James Montgomery (1771-1854) the Scottish poet and hymn-writer, but the Rev. Robert Montgomery (1807-1855) a younger man, handsome, with a certain facility for turning out mediocre verse; he had recently (1833) published a poem entitled "Woman, the Angel of Life."

8. HORATIO LOOKED HANDSOMELY MISERABLE. Dickens, in the 1867 edition of the *Sketches* cut out the end of his sentence as it appeared in the *Monthly Magazine*; it originally read: "Horatio looked as handsomely miserable as a Hamlet sliding upon a bit of orange peel." This was also the version in the first collected edition.

9. SPOFFISH. The original of this expressive word is obscure; the dictionaries give the meaning as bustling, fussy, or officious, which certainly

might apply to Flamwell, but in *Tales VII* the adjective is attached to Percy Noakes and seems to imply smart and fashionable; Professor W. W. Skeat is "not quite sure that Dickens did not mean smart-looking."

10. HALF GROOM, HALF GARDENER. Another sly hit at small snobbery. It was not unusual for one manservant to "double his part" in middle-class households of economic habits; the Maldertons had only a one-horse-carriage. Another specimen is introduced in *Pickwick Papers*, chapter XLVIII; Ben Allen's aunt's private fly was driven "by a surly-looking man with his legs dressed like the legs of a groom, and his body attired in the coat of a coachman."

11. FALL OF PARIS. An example of "programme-music." This was "The Surrender of Paris, a descriptive fantasia for the Pianoforte, by L. Jensen" (1816). Another favourite at that time was "The Battle of Prague, 1757" by F. Kotzwara.

12. REDMAYNE'S IN BOND STREET. One of the fashionable Court drapers and Silk Mercers of the nineteenth century. The firm existed till about thirty years ago.

13. SOMERSET HOUSE EXHIBITION. The annual exhibitions of the Royal Academy were held in the first floor saloons in Somerset House from 1780 to 1838 when the Academy removed to Burlington House, its present home.

14. LEAPED OVER THE COUNTER. A quite usual method for the shop assistant to attain his proper place; it shewed agility, grace, and also eagerness if not anxiety to attend to the wants of customers, and was much more expeditious than lifting the counter-flap and opening the little swing door. The exercise gave rise to the disparaging epithet "counter-jumper" for drapers' assistants.

15. ALMACK'S. (See *Scenes IX*, note 1.)

16. CAPTAIN ROSS. The same Sir John Ross who is alluded to in *Tales I*, note 40. Ross (1777-1856) twice endeavoured to navigate the north-west passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific; hence the allusion in the text. At a later time, in 1851, he went in search of Franklin.

VI—THE BLACK VEIL

(Specially written for the First Collected Edition, 1836)

1. ONE SHILLING PER WEEK. The recipient of this handsome remuneration was a boy from the parish workhouse. It will be remembered that Oliver Twist was advertised as "To Let" although in his case apprenticeship was the motive instead of a pittance as a drudge. In *David Copperfield*, the "Orfing," the Micawbers servant, came from St. Luke's workhouse. In *Our Mutual Friend* the authorities got rid of their responsibilities by letting Mrs. Higden adopt Sloppy.

2. OBSCURE PART OF WALWORTH. All parts of Walworth were more or less obscure as so much of it was marshy and undrained "black lanes and ditches and little gardens". That is why, probably, Dickens placed Wemmick's "castle" there in *Great Expectations* and why Wemmick could have a drawbridge over a "chasm about four feet wide and two feet deep."

3. NEITHER BURKE NOR BISHOP. Both of these criminals murdered their victims before disposing of their bodies for dissection. Burke smothered his prey and was executed in 1829, and his name passed into the language as a verb to mean suppressing or hushing up. Bishop drowned his and was executed in 1831. He is referred to in *Scenes XXV*.

4. FELL SENSELESS AT HIS FEET. This is probably the sort of phrase that Dickens meant when he wrote in his preface that the Sketches were occasionally "crude and ill-considered." But there was a section of the reading public who appreciated the kind of pathos and tragedy exhibited in this tale, although it leaves a modern reader comparatively cold.

VII—THE STEAM EXCURSION

(*Monthly Magazine*, October, 1834)

1. PARENTHETICAL LEGS. Bandy, like the round brackets of a parenthesis ().

2. SPOFFISH. (See *Tales VII*, note 9.)

3. PERSUASIVE ROLL ROUND HIS FINGERS. When men's hair was worn long and dressed with bear's grease the ends were rolled round the finger to

prevent a ragged appearance. The fashion lasted longer in America than it did in England.

4. GREAT MARLBOROUGH STREET. As was the case with so many of the streets in the western districts, this thoroughfare consisted largely of fairly large houses built for the accommodation of flourishing business men. Later conditions caused the removal of those well-to-do families and the conversion of the houses to business premises and offices. (See also note 9.)

5. ASTLEY-COOPERISH JOE MILLER. A double-barrelled quip. Sir Astley Cooper (1768-1841) was a famous surgeon and anatomist, and Joe Miller was the reputed original of Joe Miller's Jests (1739) whose name became symbolic for stale jokes.

6. BOSWELL COURT. This was on the north side of the Strand; it dated from the sixteenth century; in 1738 Dr. Johnston had a lodging there. It was swept away when the New Law Courts were built in 1874-82.

7. FURNIVAL'S INN. A former Inn of Chancery in Holborn opposite Staple Inn. From Wood's Hotel in the Inn Mr. Grewgious who lived in Staple Inn provided the dinner for Edwin Drood and Bazzard in Dickens's last, unfinished, novel. Here Dickens himself lived from 1837-39, and most of the Sketches were written here. The Inn was finally demolished in 1887, when the Prudential Insurance Company purchased the site for the erection of their Head Office. This Company also owns Staple Inn.

8. MONTAGUES AND CAPULETS. The rival families in Romeo and Juliet.

9. PORTLAND STREET. Now a busy commercial centre this was formerly, like Great Marlborough Street nearby, a residential street for the prosperous middle class. Mendelssohn lodged here in 1829, and Weber died here in 1826. (See also note 4 above.)

10. MOUNTED A TOQUE. The toque of the period was a hat surmounted by ostrich feathers and often also a voluminous veil. (See also Tales XI.)

11. BRIGGS OPPOSED THE MOTION. Briggs was the forerunner of Mr. Blotton of Aldgate in the *Pickwick Papers*. The phrase "in a Pickwickian sense" had not of course been invented but one feels that Alexander Briggs's speech is distinctly in that strain.

12. TWO BACKGAMMON MEN. The "men" resemble those used in draughts and would make excellent substitutes for the small balls used for balloting. (See also Tales II.)

13. GENERAL STEAM NAVIGATION COMPANY. At that time steamboats did lie off the Custom House Quay, but now they start their voyages from Irongate and St. Katherine's Wharf below the Tower bridge.

14. STRAND LANE. From Gray's Inn Square Mr. Noakes would have to walk nearly two miles, down Chancery Lane to Temple Bar, then along the Strand and down Strand Lane by Somerset House to get to the river bank (there was no Thames Embankment) where there was a small pier called, perhaps facetiously, Strand Bridge, to find a waterman.

15. FOWLS COMING OUT OF AN AREA. A first instance of Dickens's observation of the habits of fowls kept in odd places in London. In *David Copperfield* Miss Trotwood wondered if the fowl served for her dinner "was born and brought up in a cellar and never took the air except on a hackney-coach stand." And in the *Uncommercial Traveller* there is in "Shy Neighbourhoods" a long disquisition on the habits of London fowls.

16. PAUL—NOT THE SAINT. The "Virginian variety" is referred to in note 20 below. Paul and Virginia is a romance full of tenderness, devotion, and sentiment, written by Bernardin de Saint-Pierre in 1789. Translated from the French into nearly all European languages it was a great favourite with young people.

17. INVITES. A colloquialism sometimes used for invitations. One dictionary stigmatises it as slang, and Fowler says it has never attained respectability.

18. BIT OF BLUE RIBBON. A blue ribbon worn round the upper part of the arm at one time denoted that the wearer was about to be bled, an operation usually performed by a barber. The ribbon was tied tightly to impede the circulation and distend the veins to facilitate "cupping." The barber's pole with its stripes of red white and blue (red for the blood white for the bandage and blue for the ligature) is said to be symbolic of that side of their profession.

19. OFF SHE GOES. A once popular dance tune. It is mentioned in Mayhew's *London Labour and the London Poor* as being in the repertory of street musicians.

20. PAUL AND VIRGINIA. A ballad-opera founded upon Saint Pierre's romance (see note 16 above) by James Cobb set to music by W. Reeve and J. Mazzinghi in collaboration and produced in 1800.

21. SEE FROM O-CE-AN RISING. The opening number of the aforementioned opera :

"See from ocean rising
Bright flames the orb of day
From yon grove the varied song
Shall slumber from Virginia chase away."

22. DINNER'S ON THE TABLE. We are not told anything about the serving of lunch although it was to have been laid out in the deck-house by the paddle-boxes. Anyway the party was seated at dinner when the steamer reached and rounded the Nore. We know they did not get back to the Custom House till two o'clock in the morning.

23. NEW CENTRAL CRIMINAL COURT. This was the new Court commonly known as the Old Bailey constituted by the Central Criminal Court Act, 1834. It stood to the south of Newgate Prison. Both buildings were pulled down when the present Central Criminal Court was erected in 1902-07.

VIII—THE GREAT WINGLEBURY DUEL (Specially written for the First Collected Edition, 1836)

[Very soon after the bound book appeared Dickens dramatised the Sketch which was produced at the St. James's Theatre on September 29th, 1836 as "The Strange Gentleman," with J. P. Harley in the title-role.]

1. GREAT WINGLEBURY. The distance of this town is given as "exactly forty-two miles and three-quarters from Hyde Park Corner," which implies a westerly direction; in "The Strange Gentleman" the scene is laid in a "Small Town" on the road to Gretna; the description in the text is strongly suggestive of Rochester. It is evidently a composite picture.

2. LITTLE WINGLEBURY. "About two miles off." Even this is no help in the identification, as there are few "little towns" in England that have not a village within a couple of miles. We must conclude that Dickens did not intend to reveal the whereabouts of Great Winglebury, although the distance from London is so exactly stated.

3. WINGLEBURY ARMS. The arrangements of this inn are manifestly modelled on those of the Bull Inn at Rochester.

4. LONDON STAGE. The word stage indicates that the coach between London and Great Winglebury, wherever it was, ran at regular times more than once each day; and this certainly applies to Rochester.

5. ALEXANDER TROTT. A forerunner if not an ancestor of the pusillanimous Dowler in *Pickwick Papers*.

6. BLUE LION AND STOMACH-WARMER. The name of this inn draws attention to Dickens's fertile imagination in giving fictitious inn-signs. In the *Mudfog Papers* we have the Black Boy and Stomach-Ache, the Pig and Tinder-Box, the Original Pig, and the Boot-Jack and Countenance. In later stories the inn-signs are more credible.

7. SALAMANDER. A ferocious duellist, a hectoring bully; from the small, quite harmless, newt-like creature that is fabulously supposed to be able to live in fire.

8. PALL MALL SHOOTING GALLERY. It seems probable that Dickens had in mind The Gymnasium (on the site of the Athenæum Saloon) at 26 St. James's Street, close to Pall Mall of which Robert Seymour, at that time at the height of his reputation, has left an excellent lithograph of the interior, shewing in the centre of the picture a fencing match, in which one of the combatants is being hit "on the second button-hole of the waistcoat."

9. BIT O' SVING. The reference is to the rick-burning during the agricultural troubles of 1830-33 owing to the introduction of machinery for farming. The letters, really anonymous, threatening the farmers were signed with a sobriquet "Captain Swing." Carlyle in "Chartism" (chapter V) has: "Chartism with its pikes; Swing with his tinder-box" and in chapter IX: "the evil was pressing; Swing's ricks were on fire."

10. TAKE HIS BOOTS OFF. An early instance of Dickens's use of humorous ambiguity. The meaning is, of course: "desire the landlord to order the one-eyed boots to leave the room."

11. FAVOURITE TIGER. It does not seem to be settled why a diminutive groom in top-boots, a livery, and wearing a cockade, was called a tiger; was it because he was quick and smart in appearance, or because he was high-spirited and fierce in his master's service? In *Martin Chuzzlewit*, Bailey Junior, the boy at Todgers's had aspirations towards top-boots and realised them by becoming tiger to Tigg Montague.

12. GRETNA GREEN. After the Fleet marriages were declared illegal in 1754, eloping couples, in order to be married, found Gretna Green, three miles over the Scottish border, convenient. Since 1856 these irregular unions became invalid unless one of the parties had resided in Scotland for at least three weeks previously.

13. THOUGHT OCCURRED TO THE MAYOR'S MIND. A precursor to the much more detailed account of such an interview in *Pickwick Papers* where Miss Witherfield visited the Mayor of Ipswich.

14. CUSTODIAN OF THE PERSON. Again a foretaste of the richer humour of Mr. Pickwick's instructions to Sam Weller to keep watch and ward over Mr. Winkle (*Pickwick Papers* chapter XXXVIII and XXXIX.)

15. HIGHLY PROMISING WHISKERS. (See Scenes III.)

IX—MRS. JOSEPH PORTER

(Originally called "Mrs. Joseph Porter Over the Way"
in *Monthly Magazine*, January, 1834)

1. EXTENSIVE WHISKERS. They may have been of the type that became known later as "Dundrearies" from Lord Dundreary, a minor part in the play "Our American Cousin" by Tom Taylor (1858). (See also Scenes III.)

2. SMOTHERING SCENE. Othello, act V, sc. 2.

3. MASANIELLO. An opera by Auber. (See also Scenes XIX.)

4. MR. HARLEIGH. A name apparently borrowed from Mr. J. P. Harley, John Braham's manager at the St. James's Theatre. Dickens became quite intimate with him a little later and wrote for him "The Strange Gentleman." (See Tales VIII.)

5. POOR AUTHOR WITH A FARTHING. Dickens, a young man struggling for recognition, had already formed high ideals of the dignity of the profession to which he aspired. His sense of the honour of literature never left him in his most flourishing days, as is attested by his many references, some satirical, in his books, and his insistence on it in his speeches.

6. SWAN OF AVON. Ben Jonson's epithet for Shakespeare.

7. THE HEAVENS FORBID, ETC. These lines are allotted to Desdemona in Act II, sc. 1.

8. SIR THOMAS GLUMPER. The first instance in his work of Dickens's contempt for titles. In *Great Expectations*, Mrs. Pocket was the daughter of an "accidental deceased Knight" who had received the honour "for storming the English grammar at the point of the pen." In his last complete novel *Our Mutual Friend*: Lady Toppins was the relict of Sir Thomas Toppin who had been knighted in mistake for somebody else.

9. THE MEN OF PROMETHEUS. This was the original title (1800) of Beethoven's ballet music to Prometheus.

10. OUT OF SIGHT, OUT OF MIND. The earliest form of this saying is in the "Proverbs of Alfred" For he that is ute bi-loken (shut out or absent) he is inne sone for-gefen (Early English Text Society). It is also found in St. Thomas à Kempis's "Imitation Christi" and is included in Heywood's Proverbs, 1546.

11. HERE'S A PRETTY GO. For an awkward or surprising situation this was once colloquial and somewhat in the nature of slang, but it is now considered standard English.

12. MUFFIN-BOY. Obsolete, alas. He used to parade the streets about tea-time with his wares kept hot under a green baize cloth in a tray upon his head.

13. MOST POTENT, GRAVE AND REVEREND SIGNIORS. Othello Act I, sc. 3.

14. RUDE AM I IN MY SPEECH, ETC. See what happens to an amateur actor when the prompter does not know his job; the error is corrected in the subsequent excerpt.

15. JUMP THROUGH A PANEL. The harlequinade that concluded the traditional pantomime was the occasion for effective gymnastics and tumbling, with the assistance of trick scenery, the doors, window-sashes and chimney-

pots of which all worked on pivots as well as hinges. One can appreciate the possibilities.

16. EMIGRATING TO SWAN RIVER. That is to Western Australia. The river received its name from its discoverer as he found so many black swans upon it.

17. VENETIAN BLINDS. These had their advantages, but the tape-ladder constantly became perished and broke, and the laths harboured a lot of dust.

X—A PASSAGE IN THE LIFE OF MR. WATKINS TOTTLE
(Originally in two chapters in the *Monthly Magazine*,
January and February, 1835)

1. SIR CHARLES GRANDISON. A portrayal of a perfect gentleman of the highest ideals, in Samuel Richardson's novel of that name.

2. SINGLE BLESSEDNESS. Taken from *A Midsummer Night's Dream* :

" . . . earthlier-happy is the rose distilled
Than that which, withering on the virgin thorn,
Grows, lives, and dies in single blessedness."

(Act I, sc. 1).

3. CECIL STREET, STRAND. Before people began to live out in the suburbs, several of the streets turning off the Strand offered eligible lodgings. Numerous instances are found in the Sketches, and later, in the novels. Dickens himself lived in Buckingham Street, and so did David Copperfield.

4. FRENCH BEDSTEAD. "French bedstead" was a term applied by Sheraton and others to a bed shaped something like a sofa, with scrolled ends; if a canopy was provided it hung from a rod sticking out from the wall. One can sympathise with Mr. Tottle's visions. Strictly speaking the bedstead is the stead or place where the bed was made up against the wall or in a recess, but it was long ago transferred to the stand, wooden or metal, on which the bed is raised. See *Tales I*, note 6, p. 213.

5. WHISKEY. Short for *whiskbae*, from *uisge-beatha*, the Gaelic for water-of-life. (See also *Our Parish VII*, note 5.)

6. FLAT CANDLE. (See *Scenes XV*.)

7. WINE VAULTS. We should call them wine merchant's. They got their name vaults because originally the casks of wine were arranged round the walls in the manner of the bonded wine vaults at the docks.

8. HUMMING AND HA'ING. To hum as well to haw has for many centuries been a literary method of expressing hesitation. In Massinger's play *The Fatal Dowry* (1632) occurs the sentence: "D'ee stand humming and hawing now?" and in Shelley's *Oedipus* (1820): "With a ha! and a hum! I come, I come!" Mr. Dorrit used it with intention to increase his personal grandeur as he hesitated (?) to find a sufficiently impressive word. How he snubbed Tip with: "You had no right to make up your mind to what is monstrous, to what is—ha—immoral, to what is—hum—parricidal."

9. NEVER IN MY LIFE. An asseveration used also by Mr. Pickwick when asking a similar question by Mr. Peter Magnus; yet a little while afterwards the bachelor Tottle appeared to have ideas on the subject very like those of the bachelor Pickwick.

10. MODERN LUCRETIA. The wife of Collatinus of Roman legend was the model of chastity, of a woman who values her honour more than life. Her story forms the theme of Shakespeare's poem.

11. NORWOOD STAGE . . . UP THE HILL. This hill on which the Crystal Palace was built in 1851-52 is the highest in London south of the Thames, being practically equal to the heights of Hampstead and Highgate in the north—over 400 feet.

12. SUGAR-BAKER. A common term for sugar-refiner. The sugar is not actually baked as refining consists of several processes of boiling and filtering.

13. STREPHON. A character (shepherd) in Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia*. His popularity was so great that his name became conventional for a devoted lover.

(To be concluded).

Erratum. See last number, page 212. *Scenes XI*, note 5.

5. CITY THEATRE. Mr. Malcolm Morley informs me that the City of London Theatre did not exist when this Sketch was written, and that the reference is probably to the City Theatre, open from 1831 to 1835, in Milton Street, formerly Grub Street.

GENTLEMEN

R. L. S. ON C. D.

BY LEO MASON

IN a criticism of *Bleak House* written in 1853 a writer complained that Dickens could not draw a gentleman ; "Clever he undoubtedly is, but he has never yet succeeded in catching a tolerable likeness of man or woman whose lot is cast among the high-born and wealthy. Whether it is that *the lives of such present less that is outwardly funny or grotesque, less that strikes the eye of a man on the lookout for oddity and point*, or that he knows nothing of their lives, certain it is that his people of station are the vilest daubs ; and Sir Leicester Dedlock, Bart., with his wife and family circle are no exceptions."

The question of Dickens and the portrayal of a gentleman is one that has been much discussed throughout the years, and I have noticed that three characters are often mentioned by those who wish to point to examples of "gentlemen" in the novels, namely, Sydney Carton, Eugene Wrayburn and Mr. Twemlow.

Reference to the topic by Angela Thirkell in "David Copperfield Reconsidered" (Summer Number, 1949) brought to mind a little known essay by Robert Louis Stevenson entitled *Some Gentlemen in Fiction*, written in 1888. A portion of it is devoted to Dickens, and it is clear that Stevenson is the progenitor of the three Dickens "gentlemen" already named. He points out that the case of Dickens and the portrayal of gentlemen is full of interest. "Here," he says, "was a man and an artist, the most strenuous, one of the most endowed ; and for how many years he laboured in vain to create a gentleman ! With all his watchfulness of men and manners, with all his fiery industry, with his exquisite native gift of characterisation, with his clear knowledge of what he meant to do, there was yet something lacking. In part after part, novel after novel, a whole menagerie of characters, the good, the bad, the droll, and the tragic, came at his beck like slaves about an Oriental despot ; there was only one who stayed away : the gentleman. If this ill-fortune had persisted it might have shaken man's belief in art and industry. But years were given and courage was continued to the indefatigable artist ; and at length, after so many and such lamentable failures, success began to attend upon his arms. David Copperfield scrambled through on hands and knees ; it was at least a negative success ; and Dickens, keenly alive to all he did, must have heaved a sigh of infinite relief. Then came the evil days, the days of *Dombey* and *Dorrit*, from which the lover of Dickens willingly averts his eyes ; and when that temporary blight had passed away, and the artist began with more resolute arm to reap the aftermath of his genius, we find him able to create a Carton, a Wrayburn, a Twemlow. No mistake about these three ; they are all gentlemen : the sottish Carton, the effete Twemlow, the insolent Wrayburn, all have doubled the cape.

"There were never in any book three perfect sentences on end ; there was never a character in any volume but it somewhere tripped ; and Wrayburn, I am free to admit, comes on one occasion to the dust. I mean, of course, the scene with the old Jew. I will make you a present of the Jew for a cardboard figure ; but that is neither here nor there : the ineffectuality of the one presentment does not mitigate the grossness, the baseness, the inhumanity of the other. In this scene, and in one other (if I remember aright) where it is echoed, Wrayburn combines the wit of the omnibus-cad with the good feelings of the Andaman Islander : in all the remainder of the book, throughout a thousand perils, playing (you would say) with difficulty, the author swimmingly steers his hero on the true course. The error stands by

itself, and it is striking to observe the moment of its introduction. It follows immediately upon one of the most dramatic passages in fiction, that in which Bradley Headstone barks his knuckles on the churchyard wall. To handle Bradley (one of Dickens's superlative achievements) were a thing impossible to almost any man but his creator; and even to him, we may be sure, the effort was exhausting. Dickens was a weary man when he had barked the schoolmaster's knuckles, a weary man and an excited; but the tale of bricks had to be finished, the monthly part waited; and under the false inspiration of irritated nerves, the scene of Wrayburn and the Jew was written and sent forth: and there it is, a blot upon the book and a buffet to the reader.

"I make no more account of this passage than of a scene that has broken down which the judicious reader cancels for himself. The general tenor of Wrayburn, and the whole of Carton and Twemlow, are beyond exception. Here, then, we have a man who found it for years of enterprise beyond his art to draw a gentleman, and who in the end succeeded. Is it because Dickens was not a gentleman himself that he so often failed? and if so, then how did he succeed at last? Is it because he was a gentleman that he succeeded? and if so, what made him fail? The true answer lies probably deeper than did ever plummet sound, and mine will hardly appear to the reader to disturb the surface.

"These verbal puppets are things of a divided parentage: the breath of life may be an emanation from their maker, but they themselves are only strings of words and parts of books; they dwell in, they belong to, literature; convention, technical artifice, technical gusto, the mechanical necessities of the art, these are the flesh and blood with which they are invested. If we look at Carton and Wrayburn, both leading parts, it must strike us at once that both are most ambitiously attempted; that Dickens was not content to draw a hero and a gentleman plainly and quietly; that, after all his ill-success, he must still handicap himself upon these fresh adventures, and make Carton a sot, and sometimes a cantankerous sot, and Wrayburn insolent to the verge, and sometimes beyond the verge, of what is pardonable. A moment's thought will show us this was in the nature of his genius, and a part of his literary method. His fierce intensity of design was not to be slaked with any academic portraiture; not all the arts of individualisation could perfectly content him; he must still seek something more definite and more express than nature. All artists, it may be properly argued, do the like; it is their method to discard the middling and the insignificant, to disengage the charactered and the precise. But it is only a class of artists that pursues so singly the note of personality; and is it not possible that such a preoccupation may disable men from representing gentlefolk? *The gentleman passes in the stream of the day's manners, inconspicuous. The lover of the individual may find him scarce worth drawing.* And even if he draw him, on what will his attention centre but just upon those points in which the gentleman is not genteel? Dickens, in an hour of irritated nerves, and under pressure of the monthly number, defaced his Wrayburn. Observe what he sacrifices. The ruling passion strong in his hour of weakness, he sacrifices dignity, decency, the essential human beauties of his hero; he still preserves the dialect, the shrill note of personality, the mark of identification. Thackeray, under the strain of the same villainous system, would have fallen upon the other side; his gentleman would still have been a gentleman, he would have only ceased to be an individual figure.

"There are incompatible ambitions. You cannot paint a Vandyke and keep it a Franz Hals."

A DEFENCE OF MRS. GAMP

BY SIR EDWARD BLIGH

WHEN the nursing service of this country was being built up into a structure which now threatens to collapse from over-elaboration, Mrs. Gamp was often quoted as a symbol of the uncertificated nurse who had to be driven out of existence. Young people probably need to be told that Mrs. Gamp was a sick and monthly nurse in Dickens's *Martin Chuzzlewit*. Like her, the women who bore the burden of nursing our sick great-grandparents were supposed to be an ignorant, drunken, negligent, dishonest and unsavoury class.

Now that we have reached the point where, of the young women who feel a vocation for nursing about 50 per cent. are eliminated in the course of their training, it may be instructive to look again at the London of a hundred years ago and let history teach us, as is indeed its useful function, how to distinguish permanent validities from transitory modes.

Mrs. Gamp pursued her calling in a noisy, swarming, individualistic and rough London, very different from ours. Her first appearance in the novel is when Mr. Pecksniff rattles in his cab over Holborn stones to her lodging at the bird fancier's shop, and he rouses her from sleep by hitting her window flower-pots with the coachman's whip. She had been up all night at a confinement, but in spite of this arousal from her weariness her first recorded words were, "I'm coming," than which no fully certificated nurse could say better. Her entry into the story is to lay out the corpse of Martin Chuzzlewit. Her conversation throughout the book is mostly about her midwifery—about the expectant Mrs. Gill, already the mother of six whom Mr. Gill "would back agen Moore's Almanac to name the very day and hour", about Mr. Harris who hurt his wife's feeling heart "by sayin' of his Ninth that it was one too many, if not two", and so on. Her closest connection with the plot was her nursing of Lewsome, who had provided the poison for Jonas's attempted patricide. She undertook the antenatal care of poor Merry, nursed the demented Chuffey, and played a part in the final scene where the villain was run to earth. Among these varied scenes her many merits were revealed, and the following list of some of them is offered as a tribute to her memory.

(1) DEVOTION TO DUTY.

It was no fun sitting up all night alone in the Bull Inn bedroom with a man suffering from an infectious fever, delirious, moaning and shrieking. He had no visitors, and except for Westlock, who paid the bill, no friends. Night after night for twelve hours at each stretch of duty, Mrs. Gamp stuck to her post and both she and Betsey Prig, the day nurse, were punctilious in standing by till their relief came. In neither the Lewsome nor the Chuffey case, both of which he describes in great detail, does Dickens allege negligence on Mrs. Gamp's part.

(2) HARD WORK.

She was a widow who had lost all her three children and was a hard working woman at 1s. 6d. a day for working people and 3s. 6d. a day for gentlefolks. For one period she was "doubling" the duties of day-nurse and night-nurse. She had to face hard weather: hence her pattens and her famous gig umbrella. Her lodgings were cramped and noisy. These are the words in which she describes her thirty-eight years of service and her professional standards: "I am but a poor woman, but I've been sought arter, Sir. . . . I've been knocked up at all hours of the night, and warned out by many landlords in consequence of being mistook for Fire.

I goes out working for my bread, but I maintains my independency which I will till death. . . . Bless the babe and save the mother is my mortar, but I makes so free as to add to that, Don't try no impogician with the nuss, for she will not abear it."

The district nurse of to-day with her annual salary, her pension scheme, her house and motor car, has a much easier time than her maligned predecessor.

(3) ABSTEMIOUSNESS IN FOOD.

It is commonly agreed that nurses should be well fed, and should enjoy nicely-served meals. Would they be satisfied with the meal that had to sustain Mrs. Gamp through twelve hours of night nursing? Here it is in her own words. "I think, young woman," said Mrs. Gamp to the assistant chambermaid, "that I could pick a little bit of pickled salmon, with a nice little sprig of fennel and a sprinkling of white pepper. I takes new bread, my dear, with just a little pat of fresh butter, and a mossel of cheese. In case there should be such a thing as a cowcumber in the 'ouse will you be so kind as to bring it, for I'm rather partial to 'em and they does a world of good in a sick room." Mrs. Gamp is portrayed as a round fat woman. How she managed to be so on such a dainty diet is perplexing.

(4) DISCRIMINATION IN DRINK.

In an age when men like Pickwick and even Pecksniff got helplessly tipsy, Mrs. Gamp, though she admittedly drank a good deal, will be found on analysis to have kept to some very sound rules, which are worth setting out for modern observance.

- (a) she was always sober when on duty;
- (b) her standard drink was beer. This is what she said to Mrs. Harris: "My half a pint of porter fully satisfies, pervidin' that it is brought reg'lar and draw'd mild."
- (c) she drank spirits only occasionally, as is shown by her famous phrase, "leave the bottle on the chimley-piece, and let me put my lips to it when I am so disposed";
- (d) Dickens never portrays her as drunk; she got "tiddley," but no more;
- (e) when on night duty she relied mainly on the tea-pot, a habit not reprovable, as many a nurse and fire-watcher will testify.

(5) KINDNESS.

The allegation that if a nurse nowadays ill-treats or robs a patient she is as bad as Mrs. Gamp is a calumny on that big-hearted old soul. It was Betsey Prig whose maxims and practises savoured of roughness and unkindness, though even her method of holding lunatics near the fire to steady them seems less horrifying than the modern technique of subjecting some of them to electrocution or infecting them with malarial fever. Mrs. Gamp herself was rough and not cruel in that firmness which a practical nurse often has to apply, and her solicitude for the welfare of Merry Chuzzlewit at the departure of the Antwerp packet sprang from true womanly kindness.

(6) CHEERFUL WIT.

It is a good quality in a nurse to be a ready and amusing conversationalist. Mrs. Gamp was doubly such in this respect because of her duologues with Mrs. Harris. We laugh at that partnership—"I don't believe there's no sich person"—though we overlook the pathos of a lonely woman having to comfort herself with such a fantasy. But she was free of self-pity and her wit and wisdom,

however uncouth in expression, are full of good sense. Here are some specimens of her conversation:

"Dying is as certain as being born, except that we can't make our calculations as exact."

(Of young Bailey's supposed death): "He was born into a wale, and he lived in a wale, and he must take the consequences of sech a sitiuation."

"Bless the mottled little legs of that precious child, like Canterbury Brawn, his own dear father says, which so they are."

(7) SUCCESS.

Voluminous indeed are the descriptions of the qualifications of a good nurse, but there is one simple final test. Those who study the clinical material of the Lewsome case will admit that, as the doctor said at the time, it was one in which nursing and nursing alone mattered. In that case Sarah Gamp passed the supreme test of efficiency and skill—*her patient recovered*.

JOHNSON AND DICKENS: A COMPARISON

BY OLIVER D. SAVAGE

THERE is no lack of evidence that Dickens was familiar with Boswell's *Life of Samuel Johnson*. In *Little Dorrit*, Book the Second, Chap. XII, we read of "Mr. Tite Barnacle, who, like Dr. Johnson's celebrated acquaintance, had only one idea in his head, and that was a wrong one." Johnson, we read, "speaking of a dull tiresome fellow whom he chanced to meet," said, "That fellow seems to me to possess but one idea, and that is a wrong one."

Another Johnsonian allusion occurs near the end of *Little Dorrit*. In Book the Second, Chap. XXXII, we find the Patriarch saying to Mr. Pancks, "You are paid to squeeze, and you must squeeze to pay." The author then tells us that "The Patriarch so much surprised himself by this brilliant turn, after Dr. Johnson . . . that he laughed aloud." The reference here is to Johnson's frequent use of expressions cast in this antithetical form, for example: "The drama's laws the drama's patrons give, For we that live to please, must please to live."

There is a reference to Boswell in *Some Particulars Concerning a Lion*, which appeared in Bentley's *Miscellany* under the title of *Stray Chapters by Boz*. On the subject of lions (celebrities) and those who exhibit them he writes: "the keeper performed that very dangerous feat . . . of putting his head in the animal's mouth . . ." Boswell frequently presents a melancholy instance of the lamentable results of this achievement.

Again, in the *Miscellaneous Papers* we find two references to Dr. Johnson, one in "Stores for the First of April" and the other in "Rather a Strong Dose." In the latter article Dickens quotes Boswell verbatim, as follows: "He [Johnson] expressed great indignation at the imposture of the Cock-Lane Ghost, and related with much satisfaction how he had assisted in detecting the cheat, and had published an account of it in the newspapers."

In lighter vein we have the inimitable opening paragraphs of Chap. XXXII of *The Pickwick Papers*, describing Lant Street in the Borough. No one but Dickens could have written these; they are the quintessential Boz. The chapter opens: "There is a repose about Lant Street in the Borough which sheds a gentle melancholy upon the soul." The second paragraph closes: "His Majesty's revenues are seldom collected in this happy valley; the rents are dubious; and the water communication is very frequently cut off." Undoubtedly Dickens was recalling here the Happy Valley of Johnson's *Rasselas*.

Forster informs us that in 1840 he went with Dickens to Lichfield, where they visited the house in which Samuel Johnson was born. Later in his *Life of Charles Dickens* the author, under the heading "Personal Characteristics" differentiates between Boswell's great

biography and his (Forster's) own work. These pages are worth re-reading now that the disparagement of great reputations has become a vogue and fantastic theories about Dickens's motives are put forward as "new judgments."

On May 8th, 1855, Dickens wrote from Tavistock House to the Baroness Burdett-Coutts: "Two old ladies have turned up at Deptford who are the last descendants (I think Great Granddaughters) of Samuel Johnson. Mr. Carlyle has found them—in great poverty, but undemonstrative and uncomplaining, though very old—with nothing to speak of in the wide world, but the plain fir desk on which Johnson wrote his *English Dictionary*." Dickens was mistaken about the relationship of these ladies to Samuel Johnson; he had no offspring. They were the daughters of Mauritius Lowe, the portrait painter, and one of them was Dr. Johnson's god-daughter. She could remember sitting upon his knee while repeating the Lord's Prayer. Carlyle, Dickens and Forster appealed in *The Times* for a sum of £400 to purchase an annuity for these ladies. (See *Letters of Charles Dickens to the Baroness Burdett-Coutts*.)

No one would be greatly surprised to hear a comparison made between the authors of the *Spectator* and of the *Rambler*, for both were essayists. Similarly, the names of Dickens and Thackeray are often coupled, with the same critical intention. But to compare Dr. Samuel Johnson with Charles Dickens is rather like comparing an organ rendering of Handel's *Messiah* with a theatre orchestra's performance of the music of *The Mikado*.

First let us see how Johnson and Dickens differ.

Johnson suffered from lifelong melancholia; Dickens had an unquenchable zest for the mere business of living.

Most of Johnson's works are solemn and profound; much of Dickens's writing is gay and superficial, in the original and exact sense of that word. Among his friends Johnson was occasionally jocular, in an elephantine manner; Dickens's conversation sparkled with humour. Johnson never spoke to large public audiences; Dickens was one of the most effective platform speakers of his time.

Johnson was a Tory; Dickens would have been called a Whig in the eighteenth century, because the term "Liberal" had not then come into use to denote a political party.

There are, however, some similarities in the lives and characters of these two illustrious authors.

Each was born in a provincial town but came to the Capital and made his reputation there. Each expressed a strong preference for London. In the last year of his life Johnson wrote to a friend: "The town is my element; there are my friends, there are my books, to which I have not yet bid farewell, and there are my amusements." Forster tells us that when Dickens was staying at Genoa in 1844 "he craved for the London streets." "I seem as if I had plucked myself out of my proper soil when I left Devonshire terrace," he wrote. "Put me down on Waterloo bridge at eight o'clock in the evening, with leave to roam about as long as I like, and I would come home, as you know, panting to go on."

Johnson and Dickens were both moralists, in that they believed the universe to be a moral order. More than this, far more, each believed in the Christian revelation. Johnson could give powerful intellectual reasons for his convictions; Dickens's religion belonged rather to the heart than the head, but was none the less sincere.

It is noteworthy that both these great men were zealous opponents of negro slavery. This is particularly creditable in the case of Johnson, taking into account, for example, that in his times even the Quaker community of America had no compunction about buying and selling slaves. It was a Quaker, John Woolman, who induced them to abandon it.

Dr. Johnson dictated to Boswell a closely-reasoned and powerful argument against slavery when they discussed the case of a negro who was claiming his liberty in the Court of Session in Scotland. I select the following few passages but the entire argument should be read. Boswell gives it in his section for the year 1777. "No man is by nature the property of another. The defendant is therefore by nature

free. The rights of nature must be some way forfeited before they can be justly taken away. That the defendant has by any act forfeited the rights of nature we require to be proved; and if no proof of such forfeiture can be given, we doubt not but the justice of the court will declare him free.”*

These dicta may well be compared to passages in letters written to Forster by Dickens from America in 1842. From Baltimore he wrote: “We are in the regions of slavery . . . there is a dull gloomy cloud on which the very word seems written . . . I shall be able to say, one of these days, that I accepted no public mark of respect in any place where slavery was.” “It is all very well to say ‘be silent on the subject.’ They won’t let you be silent. They *will* ask you what you think of it; and *will* expatiate on slavery as if it were one of the greatest blessings of mankind. ‘It’s not,’ said a hard, bad-looking fellow to me the other day, ‘it’s not the interest of a man to use his slaves ill.’ . . . I told him quietly that it was not a man’s interest to get drunk, or to steal, or to game or to indulge in any other vice, but he *did* indulge in it for all that. That cruelty, and the abuse of irresponsible power, were two of the bad passions of human nature, with the gratification of which, considerations of interest or of ruin had nothing whatever to do; and that, while every candid man must admit that even a slave might be happy enough with a good master, all human beings knew that bad masters, cruel masters, and masters who disgraced the form they bore, were matters of history.” In conversation with a Judge in St. Louis, Dickens told him “I could sympathise with men who admitted it to be a dreadful evil, but frankly confessed their inability to devise a means of getting rid of it; but men who spoke of it being a blessing, as a matter of course, as a state of things to be desired, were out of the pale of reason.”

There are words here which are still not out of season, though a century has passed since they were written.

* Dr. Johnson had a negro servant, Francis Barber, whom he treated with such kindness as to call forth criticism from the less liberal-minded. He sent him to a grammar school and himself attended to Frank’s religious education. The great man left this faithful protégé seventy pounds per annum.

THE DICKENS HOUSE ENDOWMENT FUND (WALTER DEXTER MEMORIAL)

	£ s. d.			Branch		
				Total to date.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Blackpool—Mr. W. J. Piper	0	7	6	41	19	0
Manchester—Miss M. Pool (donations from Branch Members in memory of Mr. Stanley Sutton)	4	7	6			
Miss Frances Sutton	0	10	0	244	6	9
Nottingham—Mr. Cooper Sand’s Plays	1	14	0	268	12	0
St. Pancras—Miss Greatwood and Miss Minards Whist Drive	5	19	6	122	1	0
Seattle	4	17	9	13	6	10
HEADQUARTERS						
Sale of books	20	0	0			
Mr. J. E. S. Sawyer	10	10	0			
Mr. Leslie C. Staples— <i>Dickens Ancestry</i>	5	0	0			
Mrs. Bacon—Play Adjudication	3	0	0			
Mr. and Mrs. Dale—In memory of Mrs. Kimber	2	2	0			
Anon	1	13	6			
Mr. T. W. Hill	1	1	0			
Mr. Emlyn Williams	1	1	0			
Miss K. Skinner	0	14	0			
Mrs. M. E. Chappell	0	10	6			
Miss May S. Jeffery	0	10	6			
Mrs. Hedley	0	10	6			
Mr. James McCurrach	0	7	3	1,441	8	8
Total to date:	£6,622 16s. 7d.					

The Dickens Fellowship extends its congratulations and thanks to Stanley T. H. Eyre who succeeds Mr. Ross Barrington as Hon. Sec. of the Dickensian Tabard Players, Miss G. Weekes who similarly succeeds Miss N. Richards at Wolverhampton, and Mrs. D. H. White who succeeds Mr. Thos. L. Hughes at Victoria, B.C.

A hearty welcome to England is extended to Dr. Lionel Stevenson, and Mrs. Stevenson of Los Angeles, Mr. Reginald Willett of Vancouver, and Mrs. Stubbins of Boston, Mass.

THE DICKENS HOUSE

BALANCE SHEET AS AT 31ST DECEMBER, 1950.

1949.		LIABILITIES.		ASSETS.	
£	1949.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
The Dickens Fellowship—				Freehold Property—	
Loan	5108	550 0 0		Nos. 48 and 49 Doughty Street, at cost	5108 5 2
Interest accrued thereon		10 0 0		Furniture and Fittings, at cost, less depreciation at 31st December, 1949	224 4 9
		560 0 0		Additions during year	2 13 0
Current Account	770	428 9 0		Less Depreciation for Year	226 17 9
21 Sundry Creditors and Accrued Charges		988 9 0			11 6 9
103 Adelaide H. Garland Memorial Gift		18 3 2		Library and Museum, at cost—	215 11 0
5049 Walter Dexter Memorial Fund		102 19 9		As at 31st December, 1949	198 17 2
250 Pilgrim Trust—Gift for Windows		6078 19 3		Adelaide H. Garland Memorial Gift, Investment—	
Balance—				£188 5s. 9d. 2½% Consolidated Stock, at Cost	102 19 9
As at 31st December, 1949	5308	3 4		(Market Value 31st December, 1950, £131 16s.)	
Less Excess of Expenditure over Income for year to date	5308	9 0 9	5299 2 7	Walter Dexter Memorial Fund Investments—	
				£696 2s. 4d. 2½% Consolidated Stock	500 0 0
				£1782 14s. 3½% Commonwealth of Australia Stock	2000 0 0
				£530 8s. 3½% Conversion Stock	500 0 0
				£1000 2½% Defence Bonds	1000 0 0
				£488 18s. 4% Consolidated Stock	500 0 0
				£486 16s. 4d. British Electricity 3½% Guaranteed Stock 1968/73	500 0 0
				(Market Value 31st December, 1950, £4737 3s. 2d.)	5000 0 0
				4021 Post Office Savings Bank Deposit Account	512 14 4
				47 Payments in Advance	5512 14 4
				Stock of Pictures, Post Cards, etc—	46 4 2
				Certified by Hon. Secretary	
				The Dickensian—Current Account	40 17 9
				Cash at Bank and in hand	85 6 2
					1176 18 3
					£12487 13 9
					£11501

We have examined the above Balance Sheet with the books and vouchers of The Dickens House and certify it to be in accordance therewith. We have also verified the Investments.

3 York Street, Manchester 2.
2nd April, 1951.

MORRIS, GREGORY & CO.,
Chartered Accountants,
Hon. Auditors.

THE DICKENS FELLOWSHIP

*Branch Reports of not more than 200 words are invited for inclusion on this page.
Press cuttings are not acceptable.*

OBITUARY

By the death of Miss Marion M. Farmer on August 10th, 1951, the Manchester Branch has lost one of its oldest members and most enthusiastic supporters. For over thirty years, "Marie" Farmer could be relied upon to help in whatever activities were afoot; she served on the Branch Council for well over twenty years and it is almost as long since she was elected to the Presidency, an office which was a great joy to her and which she filled with the unassuming charm and quiet humour that endeared her to all her friends. Miss Farmer was a true Dickensian and made many notable contributions to the literary work of the Branch.—M.P.

The Birmingham Branch mourns the recent death of three of its most valued members: Mr. F. Martin, a member of many years standing and Hon. Auditor of the Branch, Miss A. Bennett, an ex-Secretary, and Mr. J. H. Toon, our President, who has worked so hard, so unceasingly, and so successfully for the Branch.—E.H.F.-D.

We also regret to announce the death of Harold P. Currie, John H. Fountain and A. E. Watts, all of Headquarters.

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